HISTORY

OF

INDO-PAKISTAN

by

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In this treatise, we have made an humble attempt to present the history of Muslims in Indo-Pakistan from the advent of Muslims in this sub-continent to the present day. It has been prepared mainly to meet the requirements of new syllabus of History Second Paper for Intermediate students. We are confident that this will serve their needs adequately.

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CHAPTER I

MUSLIM INROAD INTO INDO-PAKISTAN

For a long time the Arabs must have looked with longing eyes towards India. At first the Muslims came to India for trade and they had their markets in the coastal plain of Malabar. Soon after the death of the Prophet they sent several expeditions there. The first expedition was sent from Uman to the coast of India in the year 636—37 A. D., during the Caliphate of Omar I. But in consideration of the heavy expense and perilous journey the Caliph disapproved this expedition. But the insatiable ambition of the Muslims was never thwarted. Another expedition was sent in 643—44 A. D., during the time of Caliph Uthman, when his general Abdullah-bin-Amr-bin-Rabi captured Kirman and besieged Sistan. He then proceeded towards Makran and defeated the combined forces of the king of Makran and Sind. Abdullah wished to follow up his victory and to invade India, but the Caliph stopped further progress. Again, during the reign of Muawiyah, the first Umayyad Caliph, eastern Afghanistan was annexed to the empire of Islam. Muhallib-bin-Abu Sufra conquered Sind and the lower valley of the Indus, but this conquest was temporary. But with the coming of the Umayyad Caliph Walid to power, there opened a new chapter in the history of Islam. The arms of Islam achieved splendid success everywhere. Walid's general Musa-bin-Nusayr subjugated the whole of North Africa while his lieutenant, Tariq, conquered Spain. In the east, Qutaiba carried the banner of Islam far into Central Asia. Persia had already been over run as far as the river Oxus. Under Hajjaj, the Governor of Iraq, the spirit of conquest found its fullest scope.

Muhammad-bin Qasim and conquest of Sind :—

Causes of the invasion of Sind. The invasion of Sind is said to have been provoked by an act of piracy. The king of Ceylon sent eight vessels containing valuable gifts to Walid and Hajjaj. These vessels were plundered by the pirates of Debal (a sea port situated not very far from the town of Thatta). Dahir, the king of Sind, was held responsible and a heavy compensation was demanded. But Dahir refused to do anything on the ground that the pirates were beyond his control. Then Hajjaj got the sanction of the Caliph and sent an expedition against Dahir under Ubaidullah but without success. Then Hajjaj fitted out his second expedition under Budail but it again ended in failure.

Muhammad-bin-Qasim's expedition. Hajjaj was a man of sensitive nature. Struck with shame and humiliation at his disastrous failures, Hajjaj vowed vengeance upon the Sindhians and planned a fresh expedition, better organised and equipped than the previous ones. This time command was given to his nephew and son-in-law Muhammad-bin-Qasim, a young, energetic and ambitious lieutenant of seventeen.

"The story of Muhammad-bin-Qasim's invasion of Sind is one of the romances of history. His blooming youth, his dash and herosim, his noble deportment throughout the expedition and his tragic fall have invested his career with the halo of martyrdom" *. Muhammad marched towards India with a well-equipped body of 6000 Syrian and Iraqi warriors and 3000 Bactrians. When Muhammad reached Makran, he was joined by the Governor, Muhammad Harun, who supplied reinforcements. Besides these Muslim forces, many Jats and Meds being badly oppressed and persecuted by the Hindu kings of India, joined Muhammad-bin-Qasim.

* Dr. Ishwari Prasad—A short history of Muslim Rule in India.

Muhammad reached Debal in 712 A. D. The town was well-protected by the Brahmins and the Rajputs. A hard fighting began in which the Hindus were defeated and the town was taken by storm. Muhammad bin-Qasim there constructed some quarters and a mosque for the Muslims and engaged 4000 men for the defence of the city.

After Debal, Muhmmad-bin-Qasim proceeded to Nirun and conquered it. Then he crossed the Indus. Here he met Dahir well-prepared with his forces to fight the enemy. A terrible battle ensued in which Dahir fell and the Muslim army gained a decisive victory over the Hindus. Dahir's wife and son betook themselves to the fortress of Rawar and offered a gallant resistence. But the Arabs proved two strong for them. Flushed with victory, Muhammad advanced to Brahmanabad where the people soon submitted to him. The victory of Brahmanabad was followed by the conquest of Multan. With the capture of Multan the whole of Dahir's dominion fell into the hands of the Muslims.

Muhammad-bin Qasim's fall was as meteoric as his rise. It is said that the captive daughters of Raja Dahir, Parimal Devi and Suraj Devi, who were sent to the Caliph, complained that Muhmmad had dishonoured them. At this the Caliph was so furious that he sent orders that Muhammad be sent to his court sewen in a cowhide. The order was complied with and the body was despatched to Caliph.

Seeing the fatal end of the enemy of their father the daughters of Dahir confessed that they had fabricated the story to avenge their father's death. At this the Caliph was struck with remorse and ordered that the princesses should be tied to the tails of horses and dragged until they are dead. Some modern historians conquestioned the verasity of this romantic story. They opine that Muhammad's victorious career was

cut short by the intrigues of his enemies in the Caliph's Court.

Arab Administration in Sind: Muhammad's policy towards the conquered people was marked by intelligence, justice and tolerance. He was indeed harsh to the recalcitrants, but he never indulged in unnecessary cruelty and never oppressed the innocents. Religious tolerance was granted to the Hindus. It is recorded that during the days of war some temples were destroyed by the Muslim soldiers. But the Hindus were allowed to rebuild their temples. Complete religious freedom was granted and in the matter of worship the wishes of the Brahmanas were respected. At Multan Muhammad declared. "The temples shall be inviolable like the Churches of the Christians, the Synods of the Jews and the attars of the Magians".

The conquered territory was divided into a number of districts held by Arab military officers. Consequently a number of petty Arab colonies gradually grew up and some of them eventually grew into flourshing centres of commerce and culture. Revenue officers were ordered to deal lawfully and justly with the peasants. Chief sources of income were land revenue, customs, Jizya collected from the non-Muslims, and the Zakat collected from the Muslims. Local administration was left in the hands of the natives. The Brahmins were well-treated and entrusted with high offices.

Law made no distinction between the Muslims and non-Muslims. The nobles took cognisance of all crimes committed within their jurisdiction and were entitled to inflict capital punishment in serious cases The Qazi decided cases according to the principles of the Holy Quran. In cases where the Hindu subjects were involved, Hindu lawyers were engaged in assisting the Qazi. All disputes relating to marriage, inheritance, adultery etc.,

in which the parties are Hindus, were decided by the Hindus in their Panchayats.

Decline of Arab power in Sind: Muhammad-bin-Qasim's work of conquest was left incomplete. After his death the Hindus expelled the Muslim viceroy. But the chief causes of the failure of the Arab power in Sind were the sudden death of Muhammad-bin-Qasim and the stubborn resistance of the Rajput princes. Moreover, Sind being a barren and desert land was not attractive for the Arab, so the Caliph withdrew his support. Unsupported by the Home-government the Arabs in Sind continued a very precarious existence. Sind remained a province under the Caliph for a century and half. But when in 871 A. D. the Caliph abandoned his support, Sind became a prey to disorder. The Arabs settlers then established small dynasties, These lasted for about three centuries and were eventualy conquered by Muhammad Ghori.

Result of the Arab conquest of Sind: The Arab conquest, as Stanley Lane-Poole observes, was only "an episode in the history of India and of Islam, a triumph without results." This remark is true in two senses: Firstly, politically it did not produce any permanent effect. The Arabs did not follow up their success in Sind by further conquest. Moreover, the Arabs left no legacy behind in the shape of buildings, camps and roads. Language, architecture, art, tradition, customs and manners were little effected by them. Secondly, the conquest did not result in the expansion of Islam as a religion in Indo-Pakistan. The Hindu priests were hostile to the religion of the invaders and influenced the people to adhere to the religion of their forefathers.

But though barren of political results, the Arab conquest is significant from cultural point of view. 'The Arabs had brought with them a new religion and a new civilization which they introduced among

the conquered people.' So from the cultural point of view Lane-Poole's sweeping observation can not be accepted. Besides helping the exchange of ideas, it also facilitated the dissemination of the seeds of Indian culture in Arab lands. A great many elements of Arabian culture were borrowed from India. The court of Baghdad extended its patronage to Indian scholarship and got many Sanskrit works translated into Arabic. It was from them that the Arabs learnt the first principles of scientific astronomy, knowledge in Indian rerigion, medicine, mathematics and folklore. Indian philosophy also influenced the mysticism of Sufism.

CHAPTER II

THE HOUSE OF GHAZNI

Rise of Ghazni :—

The house of Ghazni rose to power during the later part of the tenth century A. D. As the power of the 'Abbasid Caliphs declined, territorial national spirit revived in the countries conquered by the Arabs. Among the earliest dynasties which became virtually independent in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate was a Persian house, the Samanids who had their capital at Bukhara. Very soon the Turks also became one of the most prominent peoples in the east. Originally rude and uncivilised nomads, they were remarkable for the bravery and fidelity They were employed as royal slaves and in military service by the Muslim rulers. They embraced Islam with all the fervour of their souls, and absorbed much of the culture of their masters. Alptigin, a Turk in high office under the Samanids, having been deprived of his place, left the court, and in A. D. 962 established an independent principality with its capital at Ghazni. After an independent reign of thirteen years, Alptigin expired in 975 A. D. Alptigin was succeeded by his son Abu Ishaq. He was a very weak and incapable ruler. So a scramble for the throne began among the generals. Ultimately Subuktigin, who was originally a slave of Alptigin and later became his son-in-law, succeeded the throne in 976. A. D

Subuktigin (977-97) :—

Subuktigin was a talened statesman, enterprising leader and ambitious ruler. He continued to acknowledge suzerainty of the Samanid king. He extended his territory to Qandaher. At that time, one Jaipal was the Raja of the

Punjab. The rise of a powerful Muslim kingdom in the vicinity of the Indus naturally disturbed Raja Jaipal's peace of mind and created fears and misgivings in his heart. He decided to arrest the rising tide of the Ghaznavid power, and mobilizing his forces advanced against Subuktigin's kingdom. The clash between the Muslim ruler and the great Hindu king took place at Lamghan in the Khyber Pass. Jaipal's army suffered defeat and he sued for peace. A treaty was concluded by which Jaipal agreed to pay ten lakhs of rupees and fifty elephants. But Jaipal did not fulfil his promise and imprisoned the officers whom Subuktigin sent with him for realising indemnity. He also organised a league of the Hindu princes of Ajmer, Delhi, Kalanjar. and Kanauj. Again, a bloody battle ensued between Subuktigin and the combined princes of the Hindus on the bank of the Indus. The Hindus suffered a crushing defeat. As a result Subuktigin annexed Peshawar. He, however, could not follow up his victory as he was at that time engaged in war with the Tartars, in alliance with the Samanid king. The Samanid king out of gratitude ceded to Subuktigin's dominion the province of Khurasan. Subuktigin appointed his son, Mahmud, as its governor.

Subuktigin ruled for about twenty years and when he died in 997 A. D., he left a well-knit and compact kingdom to his more illustrious son, Mamud. Subuktigin was the first Muslim ruler to attempt the invasion of Indo-Pakistan from the north-west. The significance of his Indian campaigns lies in the fact that "the Muslim discovered the way that led to her fertile plains." But it may be noted that in the first contest between Jaipal and Subuktigin, the former was the aggressor, and the second was the direct out-come of Jaipal's breach of faith. Anyway, the spread of religion was not a cause for his conquest. Sir W. Haig rightly said that "these expeditions

were undertaken rather as measures of reprisal and for the purpose of securing his dominions than with any intention of propagating the faith".

Sultan Mahmud (997—1030 A. D) :—

Sultan Mahmud is one of the most prominent figures in the history of medieval India. He after defeating and imprisoning his brother Ismail ascended the throne in 997 A. D. During the first two years of his reign he was engaged in suppressing disaffected tribes and chieftains. Taking advantage of the internal trouble of Mahmud the Samanid king made an attempt for the reconquest of Khurasan. But Mahmud defeated the Samanid king and maintained his authority over Khurasan. He cut off all his connection with the Samanid king and was the first ruler to assume the title of Sultan. Further he secured his position by obtaining the official diploma of investiture from the Caliph who conferred upon him the title, *Amin-ud-Dawlah Aminul Millat.*

His Indian Campaigns. After securing his position, Mahmud decided to continue his father's policy of aggression towards India. A contemporary Muslim writer says, "He made it obligatory on himself to undertake every year an expedition to Hind." But his Indian campaigns have too often been misrepresented. It has been said that Mahmud was a raider-in chief who in order to satisfy his greed 'came, burnt, killed, plundered, captured and went'. He was condemned as a bandit operating on a large scale, whose raids had no lasting result in the interior beyond the destruction of life, property and priceless monuments. Further, it has been expressed by the most critics of Mahmud that he was one of the greatest champions of Islam and the only motive of his Indian expenditions was to destroy and to preach Islam at the point of sword.

A critical study of the subject would make it clear that all the charges levelled against Mahmud are far from truth. He was neither a bandit nor a religious preacher. Religious fanalicism never lay at the root of his Indian campaigns. The age of Mahmud was non-religious in character. The secularisation of state had began from the rise of the Umayyads and the leaders and kings of that time were not enthusiastic about religoin. "The non-religious character of his expeditions", says Prof. Habib, "will be obvious to the critic who has grasped the salient features of the age. It is impossible to read a religious motive in them". He might have made a political use of religion by raising the cries of Jehad etc., but simply to stir up the soldiers to actions. There is no scrap of evidence in the contemporary chronicles to show that he ever won converts whether by force or peaceful means.

Mahmud was a pious Muslim and he never converted any Hindu to Islam. M. Elphinstone tells us that "it is no where asserted that he ever put a Hindu to death except in battle or in the storm of a port". "Some Rajas are said to have embraced Islam", says Dr. Nazim, "but they did so most probably as a political shift to escape the fury of the conqueror and returned to their faith as soon as he had turned his back on them". Had he been a fanatic, he would neither conquer the kingdom of Khurasan and Afghanistan ruled by the Muslim rulers, nor proceed to chastise Abul Fateh Daud, the Muslim ruler of Multan. In fact, "if he harassed the Hindu Rajas of India, he did not spare the Muslim sovereigns of Iran and Transoxina."—says Dr. Nazim. The Hindus were entrusted with highly responsible posts and the names of Tilak Rai, Hazari Rai and Soni standout prominently in the history of Ghazni. "Though zealous for Islam," says Sir W. Haig,

"he maintained a large body of Hindu troops and there is no reason to believe that conversion was the condition of their service". Mahmud also established a college at Ghazni for the propogation of Sanskrit culture. It was least expected of a fanatic to do these things.

Sultan Mahmud has been charged for "wanton destruction of temples". He plundered temples only to acquire wealth because they were fortified places and contained treasures of India's fabulous wealth. In India wealth was accumulated not only in the coffers of the kings but also in the vaults of temples. The consequence was that in India temples were also ransacked to secure the piles of gold and precious stones in them. The famous historian ai Beruni, who was an eye witness, says, "The treasures were accumulated in the temples by the bounty of the pious Hindus who had grown rich by selling their surplus produce to foreign merchants". Mahmud never destroyed any temple in peace time. Had he been a religions fanatic he could have demolished temples in times of peace.

Mahmud was not a raider but a statesman and an empire builder, who invaded India repeatedly for his political and economic end and not for religious fanaticism. Politically, the North West Frontier of Indo-Pakistan occupied a vital geographic and strategic position. His struggle for the occupation of the North Western Frontier, caused by Raja Jaipal out of the apprehension at the rise of the Ghaznavid power, continued to multiply as a result of the breach of the treaties by Hindu princes. Mahmud needed money to build up his empire. The wealth of India was utilised for maintaining the economic balance of his empire, for the advancement and well-being of his Central Asian subjects and for the enlargement and beautification of the city of Ghazni,

Course of his Indian Expeditions :—

Between the years A. D. 1000 and 1026, Sultan Mahmud made in all seventeen expeditions into Indo-Pakistan in the course of which he ranged across the plains from the Indus to the Ganges. The following are the most noteworthy of his expeditions :—

The *first expedition* of Mahmud was directed in 1000 A. D. against some of the frontier towns of the Khaibar Pass which were captured by him. In A. D. 1001, he led his *Second expedition* against his father's enemy, Jaipal whom he utterly defeated near Peshawar. Jaipal was taken prisoner but was subsequently released on terms.

The *third expedition* was against the town of Bhira (Bhatia), whose Raja had refused to pay tribute. The *fourth raid* was directed against the Muslim ruler of Multan who fled away. In the course of this expedition he also attacked Anandapal, the son of Jaipal, and hunted him from place to place. Multan was captured in 1005-6. A D.

The *sixth expedition* (A. D. 1008-9) was one of the most important expeditions. It was directed against Anandapal who had organised a formidable coalition of Hindu princes such as the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer. Mahmud had never encountered such a large army. The hostile forces faced each other near Waihand for forty days during which the Hindus were joined by the powerful Khokhar tribe of the Punjab. Victory seemed within the grasp of the Hindus. But Anandapal's elephant took frieght and fled away. This disheartened the Indian troops who, being seized with a panic, fled in disorder. For two days the Sultan chased the retreating Hindus killing a large number and capturing enormous booty (1008 A. D.). Mahmud followed up his victory by the capture of the fortress Nagarkot where he seized an enormons quantities of wealth.

He inflicted a severe defeat on the Raja of Naravanpur (in Alwar State) in 1009 A. D. In the year 1012, he marched against Thaneswar and captured it.

His *twelvth expedition* was against Kanauj. In 1018 A. D. the Sultan set out from Ghazni and crossed the Jumna. He captured all the forts on his way. The Raja of Baran (modern Bulanshar) submitted to him and embraced Islam. Next he proceeded towards Kanauj, the great city of northen India. Rajyapala, its Pratihara ruler, submitted after a feeble resistance.

His *thirteenth expedition* was against the Chandela king. Ths submission of Rajyapala to a foreign foe enraged the neighbouring Rajas who formed a league agsinst him with Ganda, the Chandela Raja of Kalinjar, as their head. The allied forces attacked and killed Rajyapala. Mahmud, who regarded Rajyapala as his vassal, got angry and attacked the Chandela king in 1019 A. D. Ganda, being afraid of him, fled away at night. Mahmud returued, but he again appeared at Kalinjor, and this time the Chandela king had meekly to submit.

The most momentous expedition of Sultan Mahmud was the capture of Somnath in south Kathiawar. Towards the close of 1025 A. D., he left Ghazni with a large army and passing through Multan and the desert of Rajputana he reached Somnath on the 6th of January, 1026, and stormed the fortress. The Hindus offered a stubborn resistance but were defeated. The fabulous wealth of the temple fell into the hands of the Sultan. "The expedition to Somnath", says Dr. Nazim, "is one of the greatest feats of millitary adventure in the History of Islam."

The *17th expedition* (1027) was undertaken to punish the Jats who had harassed the Muslim army when they were tired and were suffering for want of water

on their return journey from Somnath. The Jats were defeated and many of them were put to death.

Causes of his success : The Hindus were numerically larger than the Muslims but they could not stand unitedly against the Muslims. But the chief cause of the uniform success of Sultan Mahmud was his able generalship. Secondly, whenever a confederacy of Hindu Princes was organised, its members fell out soon among themselves. These dissensions and mutual jealousies of the Hindus helped greatly to the success of the Muslims. Thirdly, the Hindus followed the old methods of warfare. They depended on unwieldly war-elephants which proved immobile and dangerous to fight against the well-trained and dashing cavalry leaders. Fourthly, the Muslims had better organisation, discipline and coherence. The teaching of Islam made them united under their leader and inspired them with a new zeal. Moreover, the Muslim army was under a single leadership and not like Hindus who were most times under coalition leadership. Muslim's enthusiasm was further heightened by the prospect of wealth and the love of adventure.

Results. Almost the whole of Northern India felt the weight of Sultan Mahmud's arms. But the results of his victories were not permanent. He did not consolidate his conquests. The only permanent result of his expeditions was the annexation of the Punjab permanently. Indeed, this has paved the way for the future conquest of the Muslims as it served as the key to unlock the gates of the Indian territory. Many places were conquered but a few were permanently annexed to the Empire of Ghazni. After his demise only a portion of the Punjab and Sind acknowledged suzerainty of the Ghazni dynasty. Elsewhere in India the result of his invasions soon were off. "Neither the Arabs nor the Ghaznavid (Yamini) Turks succeeded in adding

India to the growing empire of Islam, but they paved the way for that final struggle which overwhelmed the Gangetic kingdoms some two hundred years later," —said three reknowned authors in their 'An Advanced History of India.' The Rajputs re-established their rule in Northern India except in the Punjab which eventually opened the gates to the Sultan's co-religionists. R. C. Majumdar says that "Big cracks were made in the fabric of Indian polity, and it was not question of whether but when that age-long structure would fall." Thus the occupation of the Punjab was the only immediate political result of his Indian expeditions. But the success of Sultan Mahmud exposed the weakness of the Indian political and military systems and proved the superiority of the Muslims over the Hindus in the art of war, discipline and devotion to duty.

But the results of these invasions were serious in ecnomical and cultural history of Indo-Pakistan. Economically the invasions caused a heavy drain on India's age-long accumulated wealth. While these made India much poorer, they contributed greatly to the glory and grandeur of Ghazni and enabled the Sultan to finance his schemes of war and peace. Culturally, Sultan Mahmud's invasions brought the civilization of the Hindus and the Muslims into close contact and led to mutual exchange of ideas and thoughts. "In the train of Muslim warriors and warlords came Muslim saints and savants who permeated the rank of Indian society, promulgated Islam in India and won a number of converts." After 34 years of glorious rule Mahmud died at 1031 A. D. at his age of 6o.

Estimate of Sultan Mahmud :—

Sultan Mahmud ruled over his vast dominions as an absolute despot from 997 to 1030 A. D. His cool courage, prudence, resourcefulness and other qualities

made him one of the most interesting personalities in the history of medieval India. "It was no mean achievement," says Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "to develop a small mountain principality into a large and prosperous empire by sheer force of arms." Mahmud was a great king. He was gifted with considerable administrative ability. The supreme executive, legislative and judicial authority in the empire was concentrated in his hands. He was the highest court of appeal for his empire. He was his own commander-in-chief, and in most cases he personally led the campaign.

Mahmud was undoubtedly one of the greatest military leaders the world has ever seen. A born military leader, he never shrank from war. His military life is a record of unbroken success. In addition to his victorious expeditions into Indo-Pakistan, he had to his credit two memorable campaigns against the hostile Turks in course of which he routed the host of Ilkhan and the Seljuks. But he was no less an empire-builder. Often it has been alleged that he was only a raider making no attempt to consolidate his Indian conquests. But his aim was to build up a Central Asian Empire for the glory of which he devoted all his energy and wealth. Thus "it is only in a limited sense that Mahmud of Ghazni can be regarded as an Indian sovereign."

Although a great conqueror, Mahmud was a great patron of art and learning. He drew around himself, by means of lavish generosity, a galaxy of eminent poets and scholars among whom were some leading figures of letters of the eastern world such as the versatile Al-Beruni,—the mathematician, philosopher, astronomer and Sanskrit scholar, Utbi, the historian, Farabi, the philosopher, and Baihaki whom Stanley Lane-Poole aptly describes as the "Oriental Pepys." It was an age of poetry, and some of the poets who lived Mahmud's court were well-known all over

Asia. Among them were Ansari, the poet-laureate of Ghazni, Farruki and Asjadi. But the most famous was Firdausi, the author of the world-famed 'Shahnama'. He invited scholars and collected literary works from all parts of the Muslim world. He founded a university at Ghazni.

He paid equal attention to architecture. He beautified his capital with illustrious buildings of which the most important was the great mosque called the "Celestial Bride". In a word, Mahmud exploited the culture of Indo-Pakistan and Persia as much as he plundered their treasure.

Sultan Mahmud was kind and just to his subjects. He was always ready to protect the person and property of his subjects. The Hindus were granted tolerance. Separate quarters were assigned to them in Ghazni and they were permitted free observance of their religious ceremonies. He never forcibly converted any Hindu to Islam nor did he plunder any temple on religious points. He might have been a staunch Muslim but not a bigot. Mahmud was a worshipper of genuine piety, and he regularly performed his religious duties.

Some accounts accuse Mahmud of avarice. But these are unsympathetic. He might have been greedy of wealth but he certainly knew how to spend it. His love of wealth was not the sordid greed of a miser. His liberal patronage of art and literature is a clear proof of this. In short, Sultan Mahmud was a born leader of men, a just and upright ruler, an intrepid and gifted soldier, a dispenser of justice, a patron of letters and deserves to be ranked among the great personalities of the world.

Successors of Sultan Mahmud :—

The death of Mahmud was followed by a war of succession between his two sons, Masud and Muhammad.

Masud gained an upper hand ; Muhammad was blinded and imprisoned. Masud's reign lasted from 1030 to 1040 A. D. Masud was brave and famous for his patronage of learning. In 1040 Masud suffered a crushing defeat near Merv at the hands of the Seljuqs, and fled towards Lahore. His brother Muhammad was placed on the throne by the army. Muhammad entrusted the government to his son. Soon afterwards Muhammad and his son were defeated and put to death by Masud's son Maudud.

After Maudud nine independent Sultans one after another ruled the Ghaznavid empire till 1118 A. D., but they were all weak. The growing power of the Seljuqs was a standing menace to the Ghaznavids. The Princes of Ghuri were also gathering strength over the ruins of the Ghaznavid empire.

CHAPTER III

THE HOUSE OF GHUR

Origin of Ghuris. The principality of Ghur was a mountainous province between Ghazni and Herat. It was inhabited by the hardy Afghans and ruled by the daring Suri kings. In 1009 A. D. Sultan Mahmud captured Ghur from its ruler Muhammad bin Suri and reduced this principality to obedience. But during the reign of his successors, it became indifferent in allegiance to the Ghaznavid Sultans. During this period Qutb-ud-din and his brother Saif-uddin of Ghur were cruelly put to death by Bahram Shah of Ghazni. When Alauddin heard of the fate of his brothers, he vowed to punish the Sultan of Ghazni. He attacked Bahram and put him to flight. He sacked the city and gave it to the flames for seven days and nights. This action earned for Alauddin the title of *Jahansuz*—"the world burner."

Alauddin died shortly after and was succeeded by his son who was soon killed in a battle against the Ghuzz Turks. The local nobles then placed one of Alauddin's nephews on the vacant throne. He was Ghiyas-uddin who conquered Ghazni and handed it over to his brother Shihabuddin, also known as Muiz-ud-din Muhammad popularly called Muhammad of Ghur. Very cordial relations existed between the two brothers; whilst the elder looked after his hereditary chiefdom, Muhammad of Ghur turned his attention to the rich plains of Indo-Pakistan.

Condition of Northern India on the eve of Muslim conquest :—

The serious efforts of the Musalmans to conquer Indo-Pakistan began with the invasions by Muhammad Ghuri towards the close of the twelfth century. About

this time Northern India was split up into a number of independent petty Hindu kingdoms. The expeditions of Sultan Mahmud led no permanent occupancy of this country. The Rajput kingdoms survived his raids. There were left only two Muslim provinces, namely, the Punjab then held by the descendants of Sultan Mahmud, and Sind held by descendants of the Arab conquerors.

The absence of paramount authority led to bitter rivalry and jealousy among the Hindu kingdoms. The Hindu princes had no sense of co-operation and there was no unity among them. It was this internal division that made Northern India a comparatively easy prey to the Muslim conquest. The principal Hindu powers of Northern India about this time were ; (a) the Tomaras of Delhi, (b) the Gahadavals, also known as Rathors, of Kanuaj, (c) the Chauhans of Ajmer, and (d) the Baghelas of Gujarat. The different Rajput clans were torn by internal dissensions as well as by jealousy of each other Thus, the most powerful of the Rajputs, the Chauhans had aggrandised themselves at the expense of the Tomaras whom they had expelled from Delhi. The most renowned of the Chauhans was then Prithvi Raj. He had forcibly carried off the daughter of Jaichand, the Rathor ruler of Kanauj, and had hereby incurred his hostility. In the Eastern India Pala Empire of Bengal was broken up and its place was occupied by Senas. Lakhsman Sena was the ruler of Bengal at the advent of Muhammad Ghury. Bihar was still ruled by Palas.

Indian Expeditions of Muhammad of Ghur :—

There were certain reasons of his expeditions to this sub-continent. Firstly, the defeat for the Ghuris in the hands of the Shah of Khawarism forced them to abandon the idea of founding an empire in Central Asia. Secondly, their hereditary enemy—the Ghaznavid,

though ousted from Ghazni, were still so strong in the Punjab that their strength was regarded by the Ghuris as a source of menace in future. Hence the destruction of the Ghaznavids from the Punjab demanded the immediate attention of Muhammad Ghori. Lastly, in the disunity of the Hindu kings and disintegration of Indo-Pakistan he found a good prospect of success, and in fact this single factor contributed much to his success in India.

He began his Indian expedition with a successful attack on Multan (1175 A. D). He captured the city. He then followed up his victory by the capture of Uchh in Sind (1175—76 A. D.) Three year later he tried to penetrate into Gujrat but was defeated by Mularaja, king of Anhilwara (1178 A. D.). In 1179, he defeated Ghaznavid governor of Peshawar and occupied it. In 1182 he compelled the ruler of Lower Sind to acknowledge his suzeranity. The next object of his attention was Lahore then ruled by Khusru Malik, the last prince of the House of Ghazni. But he failed to capture the fortress of Lahore and concluded a treaty with Khasru Malik and returned to Ghazni. Again in 1186 A. D, Muhammad Ghuri appeared in India. This time he captured Lahore, deposed Khusru Malik and annexed the Punjab to his dominion. Thus disappeared the rule of the Ghaznavids in the Punjab. "Its occupation by Muhammad of Ghur," says the authors of 'An Advanced History of India,' "opened the way for his further conquest of India."

After the fall of the Ghaznavids, Muhammad was confronted by the Rajputs. Prithviraj, the bold and chivalrous hero of the Rajputs and ruler of Ajmer and Delhi, advanced to oppose Muhammad Ghuri with a large army. If *Ferishta* is to be believed, his army consisted of 200,000 horse and 3,000 elephants. Prithviraj had also the support of many of

his fellow Rajput princes. At the *battle of Tarain* near Thaneswar the Ghuri army met the Rajput heroes and was defeated and routed (1191). But Muhammad did not become disheartened at this initial failure. He soon raised a strong army with a view to avenging his defeat, and with adequate preparations invaded India once again in 1192 and met the Rajputs on the same field. By superior tactics and generalship, the invading army inflicted a severe defeat on the Rajputs. Prithviraj was captured and put to death, and his brother was also slain. This victory of Muhammad was decisive. It laid the foundation of Muslim dominion in Northern India. The subsequent attempts of the relatives of Prithviraj to recover their lost power proved to be of no avail. He then returned to Ghazni leaving the conduct of his Indian possessions to his trustworthy lieutenant, Qutbuddin.

In 1193, Qutbuddin captured Delhi, Meerut, Ranthambhor and Koil and then advanced towards Benaras. The Sultan soon returned from Ghazni, defeated Raja Jaichand of Kanauj in a battle at Chandwar and occupied Kanauj and Benaras. Gwalior fell in 1196 A. D., and next Anhilwara was occupied. With the conquest of Kalinjar in 1203 A. D., the conquest of Upper India was completed.

Conquest of Bihar and Bengal. While Qutbuddin was engaged in the Ganges Jumna valley, a Muslim adventurer named Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khalji * made an easy conquest of Bihar and Bengal. Bihar was then ruled by the Pala dynasty. South Bihar, then almost un-protected, naturally attracted this sturdy adventurer. He occupied the fortified city of Bihar.

Muhammad Khalji next turned to Bengal, then ruled by Lakshman Sena of the Sena dynasty. He

* Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji began his career in India as a troop leader under the governor of Oudh.

marched toward 'Nadiah' or Navadwip so swiftly that only 18 soldiers of his army could run with him. On hearing the news of the arrival of Muslims Lakshman Sena escaped to East Bengal. Bengal was conquered and capital was transfered to Lakhnauti or Gaur.* He next made a fruitless attempt to conquer Tibet. But he lost his whole army in the attempt and died in A. D. 1205.

Estimate of Muhammad Ghuri :—

Muhammad of Ghur was one of the most remarkable figures in medieval Asiatic history. Rising from the position of a small chieftain of Ghur, he laid the foundation of Muslim rule in Indo-Pakistan which extended from Afghanistan to Bengal. He proved himself not only a great warrior but also a wise statesman. Muhammad was certainly more practical than Sultan Mahmud. He realised the political rottenness of India and courageously dealt blow after blow till the decadent structure completely collapsed. He lives in the history not as a raider but an empire builder. He was the first Muslim conquerer who aimed at permanent conquest of India.

In the year 1203 Muhammad Ghori was at the height of his power. In this year he became the sole ruler of Ghori dominions by the death of his brother, Ghiyasuddin. But he did not live long to enjoy his reign. Insurrections broke out everywhere and the revolt of the Khokar tribe in the Punjab proved to be formidable. He set out from Ghazni and crushed the revolt. But on his way back to Ghazni he was murdered by a fanatic in 1206.

He was a man of courage, enterprise and spirit. Amidst constant war and strife Muhammad was not

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* Authorities differ in their opinions regarding the date of the capture of Nadia by the Muslims. According to Raverty, it was effected in A. D. 1193, but this date was rejected by Blochmann, a great authority on the history of Bengal. According to Thomas Nadia fell in A. D. 1202—1203.

indifferent to art and culture. Poets and philosophers received liberal patronage from him. The famous philosopher and savant Fakhruddin Razi and well-known classical poet Nizame adorned his court. Scholars from abroad were also invited there and they were amply paid by the Ghuri Sultan.

Comparison between Muhammad Ghuri and Sultan Mahmud :—

Both Sultan Mahmud and Muhammad Ghuri were brave soldiers but Mahmud's military record is much more brilliant than that of Muhammad Ghuri. But as regards results, the invasions of Muhammad Ghuri are more significant. The invasions of Sultan Mahmud were nothing more than a series of triumphant raids which led to no permanent results except the conquest of the Punjab. The conquests of Muhammad Ghuri, on the other hand, were wider in extent and left permanent results. He left behind him a viceroy who completed the conquest of Northern India, and later on founded the famous socalled Slave Dynasty. Thus Muhammad is rightly called the founder of the Muslim empire in Indo-Pakistan. In a word, his work in India was constructive while that of Sultan Mahmud was destructive. He had the statesmanship to perceive the weakness of the Hindu rulers and to take advantage of it to establish an empire in Indo-Pakistan. Sultan Mahmud, on the other hands, played simply the role of a plunderer.

As men, they have a striking contrast to each other. Muhammad Ghori was chiefly a soldier while Sultan Mahmud's attention was devoted as much to arts and letters as to arms. Firdousi of *Shahamma*, Ansari, Alberuni, Farabi and many other scholars of wide reputation adorned the court of Mahmud. He built a university in Ghazni and many colleges in his empire, Hence compared with Muhammad Ghuri the name of Sultan Mahmud has became more brilliant.

CHAPTER IV

FOUNDATION OF DELHI SULTANATE AND EARLY TURKISH EMPIRE

Qutbuddin Aibak (1206-10) :—

Muhammad Ghuri died without leaving a male heir. Ala-ud-din, of the Bamian branch of his family, succeeded him at Ghazni, but he was soon overthrown by Ghiyasuddin's son Mahmud. As regards his Indian territories, Minhajus-Siraj tells us that on one occasion a courtier reminded the Sultan about the absence of a male heir, he replied with absolute indifference: "Other monarchs may have one son or two sons: I have so many thousand sons, namely my Turki slaves, who will be the heirs of my dominions, and who, after me, will take care to preserve my name in the Khutba throughout those territories." After Muhammad's death, Qutbuddin, who had rendered signal services to him and acted as his viceroy in India, naturally came to the forefront.

The career of Qutbuddin is to be viewed under two aspects viz., first, as the viceroy of Muhammad Ghuri and secondly, as his successor in his Indian possessions.

Qutbuddin, a native of Turkestan, began his career as the slave of Muhammad Ghuri. In his childhood he was brought by a merchant to Nishapur, where its Qazi Fakhruddin 'Abdul Aziz Kufi purchased him. After the Qazi's death, he was sold by Qazi's sons to a mearchant who took him to Ghyzni, where he was purchased by Muhammad of Ghur. Thus Qutbuddin began his career as a slave, and the dynasty founded by him in India is often known as the

Slave dynasty.* But the Sultanate was better known as early Turkish empire. It lasted from 1206-1290. He won his master's favour by courage and ability and soon rose to be his most •his trusted general. His generalship largely contributed to the success of his master's Indian campaigns. He fully justified the confidence reposed in him. Delhi, Meerut, Ranthambor and Koil fell in his hands. In 1194, he captured Benaras and Kalinjar. The conquest of Bengal and Bihar was accomplished by his lieutenant, Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtyar Khalji.

In A. D. 1206, Qutbuddin received the title of Sultan of Delhi from the successor of Muhammad Ghuri. He became thus the first independent Sultan of Delhi. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the influential rival chiefs. Thus he married the daughter of Tajuddin Yildiz, a lieutenant of Muhammad Ghuri, who occupied Ghazni after his master's death. He gave his sister to Nasiruddin Qubacha, the governor of Multan and Uch ; and gave his daughter to Iltutmish, governor of Bihar.

Estimate of Qutbuddin Aibak. Qutbuddin was the first independent Sultan who laid the foundation of Muslim rule in India. A great warrior, a man of infinite courage and indefatigable energy, Qutbuddin stands as a prominent figure who rose through sheer merits and efforts to the position of power and glory. Endowed with intrepidity and martial prowess, he rarely lost a battle, and, by his extensive conquests, brought a large part of Hindustan under the banner of Muslims. Mubarak Shah, the author of the 'Tarikh-i-

1. This dynasty is wrongly called as the Slave dynasty. Some of the Sultans were no doubt originally slaves but they were maunmitted by their masters before their enthronment. Successors of Iltutmish were not slaves but the Sultan's own children. Out of ten Sultans, with the exception of three namely Qutb-ud-din, Iltutmish, and Balban, all the Sultans had royal blood in their viens. The Sultanate is better known as *early Turkish Empire.*

Fakhr-uddin,' writes, "His valour, bravery and enterprise are such that if Rustam were alive, he would have taken pride in having been his Hajib (Chamberlian)". During a period of twenty years he overran the whole of Northern India from Indus to the Ganges and from the Himalayas down to the Vindya Range. His conquests in Indo-Pakistan 'were wider, real and far more permanent than any of his predecessors'. So he "must rank...as the pioneer founder of a great dynasty of rulers. Some of his successors might have added more glory to the empire as a whole, but the ground work and example were Aibak's."

Qutbuddin was a powerful and capable ruler who always maintained a high character. Qutbuddin was, remarks Minhaj-us-Siraj, "a high spirited and open hearted monarch." His "gifts were bestowed by hundred of thousands", and, for his unbounded generosity, he has been styled by all contemporary writers as Lakh-bakhsh, or giver of lakh. Hasanun-Nizami, the author of 'Taj-ul-Ma'asir' writes that he "dispensed even-handed justice to the people, and exerted himself to promote the peace and prosperity of the realm. During his reign, treasury required no gaurd ; the flock needed no shepherd so much so that wolf and sheep drank water side by side out of the same pond. The very mention of thieves and theft was out of question". His devotion to Islam was remarkable. The author of 'Tajul-Ma'asir' remarks : "By his orders the precepts of Islam received great promulgation". But he was never guilty of persecution of the Hindus. The Hindus were employed in his army and civil administration.

Qutbuddin, a patron of letters, had a cultured court and a society of educated men. Two mosques built by him—one at Delhi and another at Ajmer speak of his devotion to religion and love of art and

architecture. He died in 1210 A. D., from a fall from his horse, while he was playing chaugan.

Iltutmish (1211—1236 A. D.) :—

On Qutbuddin sudden death the Amirs and Maliks of Lahore placed Aram Shah on the throne of Delhi with the title of Sultan Aram Shah. The relationship of Aram Shah with Qutbuddin is not clearly known. Aram proved himself quite incompetent to rule and was soon set aside in favour of Iltutmish, then governor of Badaun.

Iltutmish began his career as a slave of Qutbuddin. He rose to eminence by sheer dint of merit, and it was solely by virtue of his fitness that he superseded the hereditary claimants to the throne.

His Early difficulties. On his accession to the throne, Iltutmish found himself confronted with dangers and difficulties. The newly established Muslim empire was threatened with disruption. His rival Tajuddin Yildiz, who held Ghazi, still entertained his pretensions to sovereignty over the Indian conquests of Muhammad. Ali bin Mardan Khalji had ceased to acknowledge the suzerainty of Delhi after Qutbuddin's death and styled himself as Sultan Ala-ud din. Nasiruddin Qabacha had asserted his independence in Sind, occupied Lahore and planned to extend his anthority over the whole of the Punjab. Gwalior and Ranthambhor had been recovered by their rulers during the weak rule of Aram Shah. Some of the powerful military fief-holders of Northern Indian almost openly defied the authority of the new Sultans. Further, the Hindu chiefs were intent upon recovering their independence. In a word, the situation was extremely embarrassing to him.

But Iltutmish was not the man to fail or falter in the face of difficulties. He proved himself quite equal to the situation. His first task was to bring the recalcitrant military fief-holders under subjection. His

authority was effectively established in the districts of Delhi, Budaun, Oudh and Benaras and in the Siwalik hill. The ambitious designs of his rivals were also frustrated. Sometime before 1215 Tajud-din occupied Lahore and extented his authority over the greater part of the Punjab. Iltutmish defeated him in a battle fought near Tarain in January, 1216 A. D. Taj-ud-din was taken prisoner and sent to Badaun. Nasiruddin, who had in the meanwhile advanced to Lahore, was expelled from that city by Iltutmish in 1217 A. D. Nasir-ud-din remained confined to Sind and was completely defeated by Iltutmish in 1228. Thereafter Sind was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. About a year later, Iltutmish received a robe of honour and patent of investiture from Al Mustansir Billah, the reigning Caliph of Baghdad. The Caliph confirmed him in the possession of all the land and sea which he had conquered as Sultan-i-Azam.

The Mongol Invasion. It was during the reign of Iltutmish in the year 1221 A. D., that the Mongols appeared for the first time on the bank of the Indus, under their dreaded leader Chingiz Khan. Chingiz Khan made the Mongols the greatest political and military power in Asia. He overran the countries of Central and Western Asia with rapidity, and when he attacked Jalaluddin, the last Shah of Khwarizm the latter fled to the Punjab and sought asylum in the dominion of Iltutmish. Iltutmish wisely refused to give shelter to Jalaluddin. Jalaluddin entered into an alliance with the Khokars, and after defeating Nasir-ud-din Qabacha of Multan, plundered Sind and northern Gujrat and went away to Persia. The Mongols plundered Sind and Western Punjab, but repelled by the terrible heat of the Punjab, they did not advance into the heart of India. India was thus saved from a terrible calamity.

Conquest of Iltutmish. As soon as the Mongol threat was over, Iltutmish started a series of conquests. He first turned his attention to Bengal. Bengal was then ruled by Ghiyasuddin Khalji, who had declared independence and assumed royal title. He issued the coins and read Khutba in his own name. He is said to have subjugated Jannagar, Kamrup, Tirhut and 'Bang'. He tranferred his capital from Devkot to Gaur-Lakhnauti, In 1225 A. D., Iltutmish marched against him. But Ghiyasuddin avoided war and concluded a treaty with him. But as soon as he returned to Delhi, Ghiyasuddin reasserted his independence and occupied Bihar. In 1227 A. D. the Sultan sent his eldest son Nasiruddin Mahmud towards Bengal. He captured Lakhnauti and killed Ghiyasuddin. Then he was appointed as the governor of the province, but his promising career was cut short by early death in 1229. Thereafter, Alauddin Daulat Shah Khalji became the governor of Bengal. But he was driven out by Ikhtiyaruddin Balka, a partisan of Ghiyas-ud-din. In 1230-31 Iltutmish defeated and killed Balka and Bengal was brought under the control of Delhi. Malik Alauddin Jani was installed as the governor of Bangal.

Iltutmish then turned his arms against the Hindu chiefs. Ranthambor and Gwalior which had asserted independence were recaptured. The Sultan next invaded Malwa, took the fort of Bhilsa and captured and sacked Ujjan. He thus completed the conquest of the Northern India.

Estimate of Iltutmish. Iltutmish was the greatest of the slave kings. Iltutmish surpassed almost all other Turkish Sultans of Delhi in his fitness as a king and in excellence as a man. Minhajus-Siraj says "never was a sovereign so virtuous, kindhearted and reverent towards the learned and the divines sat upon the throne of Delhi." Possessed of outstanding abilities,

intellect and high moral character, Iltutmish proved to be a just, generous and sagacious ruler. An intrepid warrior and a stern chastiser of foes, Iltutmish's martial vigour, physical strength and dashing courage combined with statesmanlike qualities and diplomatic moves placed him on the pinancle of fame. A great lover of justice, he meted out even-handed justice to all.

Iltutmish was a pious Muslim and spent huge sums of money on charitable purposes. In spite of his military pre-occupation, Iltutmish established schools and colleges. He extended his patronage to arts and letters. The poets, scholars and divines of foreign countries adorned his court, and his capital a was centre of learning and culture. His generosity and patronage of learning we are extolled by the contemporary historian Minhajus-Siraj, who says, "Never was a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kindness and reverence towards recluses, devotees, divines and doctors of religion and law····" He was a great friend of mystics and divines; Shaikh Bahauddin Zakaria and Khawja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki were his personal friends.

He was a great builder too. The completion of the structure of the famous Qutb Minar at Delhi by the Sultan in 1231-32 A. D. stands as an imperishable testimony to his greatness. A magnificient mosque was also built by the Sultan's order.

Sultan Iltutmish was the first who introduced Arabic coinage and the silver tanka. His policy was steady consolidation rather than expansion. He not only consolidated the empire but also established peace and order throughout. He deserves to live in history as a sturdy empire-builder. Considering all these points Iltutmish may righty be called the greatest Sultan of the early Turkish Empire and its real founder.

Ruknuddin Firuz (1236 A. D.) :—

Iltutmish had nominated, on his death bed, his daughter Raziyya as his heiress. But the nobles of his court took it as insult to bow their heads before a woman and disregarding the deceased Sultan's wishes, raised to the throne his eldest son Ruknuddin Firuz. This was an unfortunate choice. Ruknuddin was unfit to rule. He indulged in low testes, neglected the affairs of state, and squandered away its wealth. The mange-ment of public business slipped into the hands of his unscrupulous mother, Shah Turkan, who was originally a handmaid in the harem. The whole kingdom was plunged into disorder. The central government lost its authority over the provinces. The Maliks rebelled against the royal authority, and the governors of Oudh, Multan and Badaun joined them. The queen-mother and Firuz were made captives and were throne into the prison. Firuz died in November, 1236 A. D.

Sultan Raziyya (1236-1240 A. D.) :—

After the death of Ruknuddin, Raziyya was proclaimed Sultan. She did not find the throne of Delhi a bed of roses. Nizamul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi, Ruknuddin's Wazir, and some other nobles, did not recognise her accession and organised an opposition against her. But by her astuteness and superior diplomacy, the queen soon overpowered her enemies and restored order throughout the kingdom. In the words of Minhaj-us-Siraj, "from Lakhnauti to Debal and Damrilah all maliks and amirs tendered obedience and submission."

Raziyya was not, however, destined to enjoy a peaceful reign. She seemed to give offence to orthodox Muslim opinion by casting off female garments and by abandoning the prevalant seclusion or purdah. She marched in person against her enemies and conducted the affairs of her government with considerable ability in open

Darbar. But the main charge brought againd her was that she showed undue favour to the Abyssinian slave Jalal-uddin Yaqut, who was elevated to the post of master of the stables. This offended the Turkish nobles. The first man who revolted openly was Ikhtiyaruddin Altuniya, the governor of Sarhind. The queen marched with a large army to suppress the revolt but was defeated and put in the custody of Altuniya. Yaqut was put to death and the nobles raised her brother Muizuddin Bahram to the throne. Meanwhile Altuniya, whose exclusion from the rewards of successful rebellion was, naturally a bitter disappointment to him, had released Raziyya from prison, married her and then marched towards Delhi. In October, 1240, Altuniya was defeated along with the queen by Muizuddin Bahram. She was put to death with her husband.

Estimate of Raziyya. : Raziyya was the first Muslim lady who sat on the throne of Delhi. She was a remarkable woman with many talents. Ferishta writes that "She read Koran with correct pronunciation, and in her father's life time employed herself in the affairs of the Government." As a queen, she tried to display her virtues more prominently. The contemporay Muslim chronicler, Minhajus-Siraj writes of her as a "great sovereign, sagacious, just, beneficent, the patron of the learned, a disposer of justice, the cherisher of her subjects ; and a warlike talent, and endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for a king." She tried her best to "play the king." But her sex proved her worst disqualification. As Elphinstone remarks, "her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from a single weakness."

Muizuddin and Alauddin :—

The removal of Raziyya was followed by a period of disorder and confusions. The new Sultan, Muiz-

uddin Bahram Shah was a worthless and incompetent ruler. His reign saw the growing influence of the nobles who were known as the "Forty". During his rule the country knew no peace and tranquillity. The only important event of his reign was the invasion of the Mongols. In 1241, the Mongols invaded the Punjab, sacked Lahore, and laid the city waste. The king 'was too feeble to take any steps against them. The 'forty' besieged him in the WhiteFort at Delhi and put him to death (1242).

The nobles now raised Alauddin Masud Shah, a grandson of Iltutmish, to the throne. His brief inglorious reign presents little noteworthy events except a rebellion in Bengal, a Hindu rebellion in Bihar, and an invasion of the Punjab by the Mongols. In June 1246, Masud was deposed and thrown into prison, where he died shortly after.

Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-55) :—

Nasiruddin Mahmud was an amiable and unassuming prince, possessing the virtues of continence, frugality, and practical piety, and a taste for caligrahpy, which led him to employ his leisure in making copies of the Koran. For the greater part of his reign he was under the influence of Ghiyasuddin Balban, a Turkish slave whom Iltutmish had purchased and married to one of his daughters. Balban proved a capable minister and for twenty years served his master with indefatigable energy. In fact, the record of Nasiruddin's reign is the list of Balban's achievements.

The pressing external danger of the reign was menace of Mongol invassions. The Mongols had not only sacked Lahore and levelled its buildings with the ground, but had so devastated the country west of the Jhelum that no cultivation remained. The turbulent

Hindus of the Doab and also the Meos of Mewat were in rebellion. On the advice of Balban, Nasiruddin first set out to recover the Punjab. The Khokars were subdued, and a marauding force of Mongols fled when it found itself confronted with Balban's army. The Doab was reduced to obedience and the Meos were severely chastised. Balban's reward for these services was promotion to the post lieutenant of the kingdom. This made Kutlugh Khan, Imaduddin Raihan, and some of the 'forty' jealous of him. They made a conspiracy against him and persuaded the king against him. The leader of the conspiracy was Raihan. Consequntly Balban was dismissed from his post. Raihan's arrogance soon displeasep the Turkish nobles and Balban was again brought back to his previous post and position. Henceforward he was supreme in the kingdom. Balban now tried to crush the power of his opponents. Kutlugh Khan who rose in revolt in Oudh was suppressed. Balban next dealt effectively with all other rebels. Towards the close of this reign an envoy of Halaku Khan, the grandson of Chengiz Khan, came to the court of Delhi. The mission assured Nasiruddin that no Mongol raids would in future be permitted.

Nasiruddin died without an heir, on February 18, 1266. He was a pious, God-fearing and kind-hearted ruler who patronised the learned and sympathised with the poor and the distressed. It was during his reign that Minhajus-Siraj, his chief Qazi, wrote the valuable history "Tabakat-i-Nasiri" named after the Sultan.

Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-87) :—

In his early life, Ghiyasuddin Balban was a slave of Iltutmish. But soon he began to rise high by dint of his merit and ability. His political career may be divided into two parts—as a minister of Nasiruddin

(1246-66), and as a Sultan of Delhi. As a minister of Nasiruddin, Balban served the Delhi Sultanate for 20 years during which he repelled the menace of Mongols' inroads and suppressed the rebellious Hindus chiefs. In fact, the history of Nasiruddin's reign is the history of Balban's achievments. Sultan Nasiruddin had no male child, so he had nominated Balban (his minister and father-in-law) as his successor. On his accession Balban was confronted with a formidable and difficult task. The Turkish nobles became turbulent and took recourse to plots and intrigues. The prestige of the Sultan had sunk very low. Robber-bands infested the neighbourhood of Delhi. Above all there was the danger of recurring Mongol raids. The condition of the country at his accession has been aptly described by Ziauddin Baruni in the following words. "Fear of the governing power, which is the basis of all good government, and the source of the glory and splendour of all states, had departed from the hearts of all men, and the country had fallen into a wretched condition". Thus, a strong ruler was the need of the time.

His policy towards the nobility and Monarchy. Balban had a long political experience. He fully realised that the most urgent need of the time was to strengthen the authority of the Sultan by checking the pretensions of the Turkish nobility. So he took measures for crushing the Turkish military oligarchy—the survivors of Iltutmish's famous band of "Forty". The selfish ambition and intrigues of these nobles, besides being a serious menace to the Sultan's authority, was a perennial source of misgovernment. Balban struck hard at their power and pretensions. He took every opportunity to disgrace or destroy them, and punished them with exceptional severity whenever they were found guilty. He established an efficient system of espionage to watch the activities of these nobles.

Another method adopted by Balban to abase the nobility was to exalt the prestige of the Sultan and the dignity of the court. He declared, "It is the king's superhuman awe and status which can ensure the people's obedience." Naturally the Turkish nobles resented this attitude of Balban. But Balban rigidly adhered to the new ceremonial and status of the court and succeeded in creating a new tradition which enhanced the power and prestige of the monarch. He remodelled his court after the manner of the old Persian kings and introduced Persian etiquette and ceremonial. Under him the Delhi court acquired celebrity for its great magnificence. He was a thorough-going aristocrat and he never gave office to any one except to well-born men.

Military Reforms. Balban realised that a strong army was essential to cope with the internal troubles and external dangers. Hence he reorganised his army and increased its effeciency. The cavalry and infantry, both old and new, were placed under Maliks of experience, who had given proof of their courage and loyalty in many battles. Iltutmish had granted land to many soldiers on condition of military service. But these people and their successors were not found dutiful in performing military service.* Balban held an enquiry in the matter and reorganised the system on a sound footing. Land enjoyed by old soldiers or the orphans and widows of the former soldiers were taken back, but pension was provided to them for their maintenance; and the young successors of the former land holding soldiers were enlisted in regular army.

Suppression of Internal Rebellions. With the help of the army he suppressed with merciless severity all rebellions and disorders within the empire. The peace of the empire around Delhi was seriously disturbed

1. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, A Short History of Muslim Rule in India,

by the Rajput brigands of Mewat. They not only plundered travellers on the roads but even carried their depredations into the heart of Delhi. "They used to come prowling into the city, givieng all kinds of trouble, depriving the people of their rest. So great was their audacity that the western gate of the capital had to be closed at the time of afternoon prayer, and even the garb of a medicant was no protection against their high handedness." He suppressed the Mewatis with an iron hand, ordered all the jungels and forests to be cleared of the robbers. He next turned to the turbulent Hindus of Doab, captured their strong holds and ruthlessly chastised them. To keep them in check he establiseed military posts at several places and garrisoned them with Afghan soldiers. The rebel Hindus of Ketehr (Rohilkhand) were also dealt with terribly. By these drastic measures the roads were freed from robbers and the vicinity of Doab was made safe. In 1268-69, Balban led an expedition into the Salt Range, punished the recalcitrant Hindus. In a nutshell, by his stern attitude towards the ambitious nobles and unruly chiefs, Balban did much to restore order and to secure the stability of the Sultan.

Rebe lion in Bengal. Balban's principal military operation was directed against Tughril Khan, the governor of Bengal Tughril Khan was appointed governor of Bengal by Balban in 1268 A. D. Being influenced by unwise counsellors, Tughril declared independence in 1279 A. D. He assumed the title of Sultan, struck coins and caused the Khutba to be read in his own name. He attacked Jajnagar, carried off a large booty consisting of valuable goods. The booty was lavishly distributed among the nobles, soldiers and subjects. Sedition became so rife that the soldiers as well as citizens ceased to fear the sovereign power, and gave their adhesion to the rebellious governor.

Balban was greatly perturbed by the news of this revolt. He at once sent a large army to Bengal under Amir Khan but he was defeated by the rebel governor. Balban became so much enraged at the defeat that he ordered Amir Khan to be hanged. Another army was sent to Bengal under Malik Targhi, but this expedition, too, met with a like fate. He then decided to march in person to Lakhnauti with a large army, accompanied by his son, Bughra Khan. He found Lakhnauti almost deserted, for Tughril had already fled from his capital with his troops and adherents. Balban continued his march and advanced into Eastern Bengal in persuit of Tughril and his men. Tughril was captured and beheaded in 1281. On returning to Lakhnauti the Sultan inflicted exemplary punishments on the relatives and adherents of Tughril. "On either side of the principal bazar, a street more than two miles in length, a row of stakes was set up and the family and the adherents of Tughril were impaled upon them. None of the beholders had ever seen a spectacle so terrible and many swooned with terror and disgust." Before leaving Bengal he appointed his second son, Bughra Khan, governor of Bengal, and instructed him to be dutiful in the work of administration. "Understand me and forget not that if the Governors of Hind or Sind, of Malwa or Gujrat, of Lakhnauti or Sonargaon, shall draw the sword and become rebels to the throne of Delhi, then such punishment as has fallen upon Tughril and his dependents will fall upon them, their wives, their children, and all their adherents."

Mongol Invasions and his Frontier Policy. Balban's chief anxiety was the fear of the Mongol invasions. The Mongols had by this time established themselves at Ghazni and from that vantage ground began to raid Sind and the Punjab. Fear of Mongol

invasions was a vital factor in determining his policy. He thus abstained from following the policy of expansion, re-organised the army and re-constructed forts and strengthened the defense line of the frontier. To check their depreditions Balban appointed his eldest son, Prince Muhammad, governor of Multan, while his second son, Bughra Khan, was placed in charge of the frontier district of Samana. Their combined operations warded off the Mongol attack for a time. But in 1279 the Mongols renewed their invasion under Tamar Khan and ravaged the upper Punjab and even crossed the Sutlej. Prince Muhammad lost his life in repelling the attack. The death of this excellent prince gave a rude shock to the old Sultan. It cast him into a state of deep depression and he died in 1287.

Estimate of Balban :—

Balban's achievements entitles him a high place among the Sultans of Delhi. "Balban's career," says Ishwari Prasad, "full of strenuous activity extending over a period of forty years, is unique in the annals of medieval India." He checked the Turkish nobles, restored peace and order by suppressing all lawless elements by a policy of blood and iron. "Out of chaos and vision of imminent destruction, Balban had evolved order and promoted prosperity, and the people welcomed the new regime cheerfully."* The Sultan had a lofty sense of kingly dignity. Balban considered the sovereign to be the representative of God upon earth, but he believed that it behoved him to maintain the dignity of his position by performing certain duties faithfully. Balban did his best to raise the prestige and majesty of the Delhi Sultanate.

"Balban's career as a Sultan was one of struggle

* Dr Aziz Ahmed.

against internal troubles and external danger", says the learned authors of "An advanced History of India". His policy of blood and iron may appear horrible and disgusting but does not seem unusual in those rough times. Moreover, he had some justification for this policy.

"With ambitious Turkish chiefs treading on his heels, with marauders infesting the very gates of Delhi and above all with the Mongols ever hammering on the doors of the frontier posts, Balban had good reasons to be stern and watchful. Infact, a strong dictator like Ghiyasuddin Balban was the need of the hour. He proved himself "A great warrior, ruler and statesman who saved the infant Muslim state from extinction at a critical time". He revealed his stern sense of realities by abstaining from wars of aggrandisement. Consolidation was the need of the hour, and Balban wisely concentrated his attention upon consolidation. "Balban was a most remarkable ruler", says Ishwari Prasad, "who saved the infant Muslim State in India from the Mongol peril, and by establishing social order paved the way for the military and administrative reforms of Alauddin Khalji".

He distributed even-handed justice; even the most powerful noble could not expect any favour. For instance, Malik Baqbaq, a powerful noble of Badaun, was flogged to death by his order as Malik caused one of his own servants to be beaten to death. He punctually discharged all the religious duties of an orthodox Sunni. Badauni says, "he assiduously attended all congregational prayer and was never without ablutions". He used to visit the tombs of saints and scholars on every Friday. Balban was not insensible to refinements. He was a liberal patron of literature and showed special favour to the poet, Amir Khusru.

But inspite of many good qualities of his head and heart, Balban was partly responsible for the rapid fall of the early Turkish Empire. Because, his dictatorship depended on his personal ability ; he adopted the policy of exclusion of the sons of the soils from offices ; he abandoned the policy of direct contact with the masses ; and he did not re-organise the administration of the Empire.

Kaikobad (1287-90) and the fall of the Slave dynasty :—

When Balban died in 1287, his nobles raised Kaikobad, son of Bughra Khan. to the throne. Bughra Khan did not oppose his son's accession, but assumed in Bengal the royal title of Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra Shah. Kaikobad's reign was brief and worthless. He was a dissolute young man, quite incompetent to bear the burden which had exhausted even his stern grand father. Kaikobad became a puppet in the hands of an officer named Nizamuddin who encouraged him in all sorts of vices in order to retain his hold upon the young king. The affairs of the government fell into disorder. All these things reached the ears of Bughra Khan who came to Delhi to meet his son. He advised his son to refrain from such vices.

Intrigues soon became rampant and the nobles began to quarrel for power. After the death of Nizamuddin, Malik Firuz became the Ariz-i-Mamaluk. His elevation offended the powerful Turkish nobles who looked down upon the Khalji tribe. Soon after this Kaikobad was struck down with paralysis. The Turkish nobles put on the throne Kaikobad's infant son Kayumars. This alarmed Malik Firuz who occupied Delhi, caused Kaikobad to be murdered, and ascended the throne on March, 1290. Thus ended the dynasty of the Turki Slave Sultans of Delhi.

Genealogical Table of the so-called Slave Kings.

Qutb-ud-did Aibak (1206-10)

- Aram Shah (1210-11)
- Daughter m. t. Iltutmish (1211-36)
  - Ruknuddin Firuz (1236)
  - Raziyya (1236-40)
  - Muizuddin Bahram (1240-42)
  - Nasirudidin Mahmud (1246-65)

Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1265-1287)

- Muhammad
  - Kaikhusran
- Nasiruddin Mahmud Bughra Khan
  - Kaikobad (1214-90)
    - Kayumars (1290)

CHAPTER V

THE KHALJI DYNASTY

The Khaljis :—

There is a difference of opinion among the historians as regards the origin of the Khaljis. Major Raverty sought to prove that Khaljis could not be classed as Afghans or Pathans, and he assigned to them to a Turkish origin. But the contemporary author Ziauddin Barni describes the Khaljis as different from the Turks and remarks that with the death of Kaikobad, the rule of the Turks in Indo-Pakistan came to an end. Modern view is that the Khalji were a Turkish tribe, but, having been long domiciled in Afghanistan, had adopted some Afghan habits and customs.

Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji (1290–96) :—

Jalal-ud-din was the most powerful of the Khalji chiefs. He was seventy years old when he became Sultan. At first he was not much liked by the nobles and the populace of Delhi. He had to make Kilokri the seat of government, and for some time he could not even enter Delhi. Gradually he established his authority, and as Barni writes, the "excellence of his character, his justice, generosity and devotion, gradually removed the aversion of the people and hopes of grants of land assisted his conciliating, though grudgingly and unwillingly, the affection of his people."

Despite the murder with which the reign began he seemed to have disliked the shedding of blood. On one occasion when his ministers protested against his leniency, he said, "My friends, I am now an old man, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding more blood." He was a mild king, fond of wit and learning and merciful to a degree. He showed the most

impolitic tenderness towards rebels and other crimi nals. In the second year of his eign, Chhajju, a nephew of Ghiyasuddin Balban rose in rebellion, assumed royal title and marched on Delhi. But he was defeated near Badaun and when was brought before Jalaluddin, he out of imprudent generosity pardoned the rebels. The worst instance of the leniency of Firuz to criminials was his treatment of some thugs. Not one was punished, but the whole gang was sent down the river and set free in Bengal. Such peaceful disposition and leniency created indignation among the nobles, and one of them, Malik Ahmed Chap, who held the post of Master of ceremonies, told him plainly "that a king should reign and observe the rules of government, or else be content to relinguish the throne." Once only did Firuz depart from his policy of leniency, and this was in the case of a religious leader named Sidi Maula who revolted and was executed.

The one noteworthy military enterprise of the Sultan was an expedition against Ranthambhor. The hostile Rajputs shook off the authority of the Delhi Sultanate and declared their independence under Rana Hamir Mal. The Sultan marched against the Rana, but ultimately he changed his mind from capturing the fort as he was not willing to shed blood.

In 1292, he successfully defended his kingdom against a strong Mongol invasion and repulsed the invaders from Lahore. About 3,000 Mongols, who had surrendered, embraced Islam and they came to be known "New Musalmans." They were allowed to settle near a suburb of Delhi "This was an ill-advised concession, remarks R. C. Majumder, which produced trouble in the future. The "New Musalmans" proved to be turbulent neighbours of the Delhi Government and caused it much anxiety."

Expedition to Deccan. The most noteworthy event of Jalaluddin's reign was a daring raid into the Deccan, undertaken by Alauddin, his nephew and son-in-law. The Sultan was very affectionate to his nephew and appointed him governor of Kara in the district of Allahabad. In 1292 Alauddin invaded Malwa with the Sultan's permission, plundered Bhilsa, and carried an immense booty to Delhi. But Alauddin exceeded his authority and plunged into the heart of the Deccan, a country as yet free from penetration by the Muslims. He moved southward and marched through Berar and Khandesh and surprised Raja Ramchandra of Devagri, plundered his capital and compelled him to surrender Ellichpur. He then returned to Kara with an enormous quantity of gold and many precious jewels. "This daring raid of the Khalji invader," remark the authors of 'An Advanced History of India', not only entailed a heavy economic drain on the Deccan, but it also opened the way for the ultimate Muslim domination over the lands beyond the Vindhyas."

Alauddin's unauthorised and secret expedition into the Deccan and his intention of not sharing the wealth with the Sultan of Delhi clearly reveals his treasonable intentions. But when the Sultan was informed of the success to his nephew in the Deccan, he decided to proceed to Kara to congratulate him. In spite of the honest counsels of his officers, Jalaluddin Firuz, allowed himself to be lured into a trap laid by Alauddin. He did not pay heed to any counsel and travelled to Kara by boat. At the time of greetings, Jalaluddin was treacherously killed by a appointed man of Alauddin. Alauddin then became the Sultan of Delhi. But Alauddin, as Barni writes, "did not escape retribution for the blood of his patron....Fate at length placed a betrayer in his path (Malik Kafur) by whom his family was destroyed...."

Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) :—

On the death of Jalaluddin Firuz, the adherents of Ala-ud-din Khalji proclaimed him Sultan in 1296. With the reign of Aiauddin began what may be called imperial period of the Sultanate, during which the kings of Delhi extended their authority, directly or indirectly, over the whole of the Indian peninsula.

His Early Diffieulties, On his accession to the throne Alauddin had to face a critical situation of plots and revolts. The Jalali nobles had not yet forgotten the murder of the old Sultan and were secretly trying to avenge it. The Queen-dowager, Malika Jahan, who in the language of Barni was "one of the sillest of the silly", had in the meanwhile pleaced her younger son on the throne under the title of Ruknuddin Ibrahim. Her elder son, Arkali Khan, dissatisfied with some of her acts, had remained at Multan. On hearing this, Alauddin hurriedly marched for Delhi. Ruknuddin gave him no resistance and fled to Multan with his mother and her faithful Ahmad Chap. Without any opposition, Alauddin occupied the vacant throne in the Red Palace of Balban. The situation now, in the words of Barani, stands : "The throne was now secure, and the revenue officers and the keepers of elephants with their elephants, and the kotwals with the keys of the forts, and the magistrates and the chief men of the city came out to Alauddin, and a new order of things was established. His wealth and power were great ; so whether individuals paid their allegiance or whether they did not, mattered little, for the Khutba was read and coins were struck in his name".

The fugitive relatives and friends of Jalaluddin Khalji were not allowed to remain in Multan. Alauddin sent an army under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to Multan. Arkali Khan and Ibrahim were blinded,

Malika Jehan and Ahmad Chap were kept under close restraint at Delhi. Next he had dealt with a conspiracy headed by his nephew Akat Khan. Two others of his nephews also rose in revolt against him. But the most formidable was the revolt of Haji Maula, who sought to set up a grandson of Iltutmish on the throne. But quite different from his uncle in temperament and outlook, the new Sultan tried to combat these odds with indomitable energy, and his efforts were crowned with success.

Mongol Invasions. The ever-recurring Mongol raids formed a source of constant anxiety and alarm to Alauddin. The contemporary chroniclers tell us that between the years 1297 and 1307 Alauddin had to face as many as five or six formidable Mongol raids, besides many minor incursions. Within a few months of Alauddin's accession, a large horde of the Mongols invaded India, but Zafar Khan repulsed them near Jullunder.

In 1297 A. D., the Mongols under their leader Amir Daud, the ruler of Transoxiana made an attempt to conquer Multan, the Punjab and Sind but Ulugh Khan inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. The Mongols appeared again under their leader Saldi. This time also Zafar Khan vanquished them, and sent their leader with about 2,000 followers as prisoners to Delhi. But the most dangerous crisis occurred in 1299, when an army of 200,000 Mongols under Qutlugh Khaja suddenly appeared in the vicinity of Delhi. This time their object seemed not plunder but conquest. Zafar Khan charged them furiously but was killed in action. But Mongols for some unknown reasons soon withdrew. Next invasion took place in 1303 when the Mongols came to India and encamped near Delhi. "But the danger was averted through the good offices of Nizamuddin Aulia". In 1304 there was another

Mongol raid under Ali Begand Khaja Tash. They penetrated as far as Amroha. Malik Kafur and Ghazi Malik were sent against them. The Mongols were completely beaten back with heavy losses and about 8,000 Mongols were captured and sent to Delhi. The last Mongol invasion during his reign took place in 1307-1308, when a chieftain named Iqbalmand led an army across the Indus. But he was defeated and slain. The Mongols, disappointed by repeated failures in all their invasions and terrified by the harsh measures of Alauddin, did not venture to trouble him again.

Alauddin took effective measures to guard the North-Western Frontier against further invasion. He followed the policy of Balban. He added to the forts of Delhi, reconstructed the old forts of the frontier. He raised the number and efficiency of the army. The outposts of Samana and Dipalpur were garrisoned and kept in a state of defence. He also dealt severly with the Mongol converts, known as the "New Mussalmans", who had settled in the suburbs of Delhi, as they were looked upon as a source of danger and conspiracy.

Absurd Fancies of Alauddin. Intoxicated by the uniform success during the early years of his reign, Alauddin seems to have, temporarily, lost his sense of political realities. He considered himself competent to "establish a new religion and creed" and also sought to emulate Alexander the Great as conqueror of the world. Barani writes : "All this prosperity intoxicated him. Vast desires and great aims far beyond formed their germs in his brain, and he entertained fancies which had never occurred to any king before him In his exultation, ignorance and folly, he quite lost his head, forming the most impossible schemes and nourshing the most extravagant desires".

Alauddin no doubt sought the advice of Qaziul-Mulk, who plainly pointed out to him that the idea of establishing a new religion was absurd and added that dreams of world-conquest were foolish so long the kingdom was exposed to the raids of the Mongols. These words had its desired effects and the Sultan abandoned his wild projects, but still he described himself on his coins as 'the second Alexander'.

His Conquests :—

Alauddin's reign is memorable for the expansion of Muslim dominion in India. With it began, as Sir Wolseley remarks, "the Imperial period of the Sultanate", which lasted for nearly half a century. He first effected a thorough conquest of Northern India and then turned his arms against the South. He was the first ruler of Indo-Pakistan who brought the whole of this sub-continent under his sway.

Alauddin's first military operation was directed against Guzarat in 1297, which was then ruled by Baghela (Chaulukya) king Rai Karnadeva II. Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan, Alauddin's principal lieutenants, were sent to Gujarat at the head of a large army. The capital was besieged and captured. Karnadeva and his daughter, Devala Devi, fled away and took refuge with king Ramchandradeva of Devagiri. Karnadeva's beautiful wife Kamala Devi was captured and was taken to Ala-ud-din, who later on became his favourite wife. Nusrat •Khan plundered the rich forts of Gujarat and brought away enormous booty. In this campaign Malik Khan, who later became Ala-ud-din's greatest general, was captured. Gujarat was placed under the charge of a Muslim Governor.

Alauddin next turned his arms against the strong fortress of Ranthambhor which was then ruled by a Chauhan Prince named Hamir Deva. He had given

shelter to some of the "New Musalmans", and this offended Alauddin. Moreover, strategically, the great fort of Ranthambhor was a danger to the Delhi empire. So in 1299 Alauddin sent Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to capture Ranthambhor. Hamir Deva stoutly defended his country and Alauddin's generals were beaten back. Nusrat Khan was killed in action. On hearing this Alauddin marched in person towards Ranthambhor. Ranthambhor was occupied after one year' siege. Hamir was put to death and Ulugh Khan was appointed to govern Ranthambhor.

Alauddin's next victim was Mewar, the land of the brave Rajputs. According to Tod, the famous chronicler of the Rajputs, Ala-ud-din organised an expedition against Mewar to gain Padmini, the beautiful queen of Rana Ratan Singh. But this has now been proved as afiction. The real cause was Alauddin's natural desire to subdue a strong principality lying so near Delhi. Alauddin personally invaded Mewar and besieged Chitor. The poet Amir Khusru, who accompained the Sultan, has left for us a valuable account of the campaign. He said that Chitor was gallantly defended by two Rajput leaders, Gora and Badal, but all resistance proved failure. Chitor fell to Alauddin on August 26, 1303. The fort was entrusted to Khizr Khan, Alauddin's son, and the town was renamed Khizrabad. The conquest of Chitor was followed by the reduction of Malwa, and the cities of Ujjain, Mandu and Chanderi fell into the hands of the Muslims. Thus by the year 1305 Alauddin became the master of practically the whole of Northern India.

The Conquest of the Daccan. Emboldened by these successes, Alauddin turned his attention to the conquest of the Deccan. He was the first Muslim conquerer of the Deccan. It was but natural for an ambitious ruler like him to extend his influence over the South

after the North had been brought under control. The profuse gold of the Deccan also might have attracted his attention. Moreover the political condition of the South provided an incentive to Alauddin for launching upon a new career of conquest. The Deccan and the Peninsula were then divided between great Hindu kingdoms: Devagir on the west, Telingana in the east, and the Hoysala kingdom to the south of the Krishna and Tungabhadra, and the Pandya kingdom under Kulase-Khara. Besides these principal kingdoms, there were other petty states. Internal dissensions among these States offered an opportunity to the ambitious designs of Alauddin.

In 1307, Ala-ud-din sent an army against Ramchandradeva of Devagiri. Ramchandradeva had given refuge to his enemy, Karnadeva of Gujarat, and had withheld the promised tribute Malik Kafur mercilessly ravaged his territory and forced him to come to terms. Ramchandradeva was allowed to rule as a vassal king.

Next Kafur was sent against the Kakatiya kingdom of Warangal. An expedition sent by Alauddin against Kakatiya Prataparudradeva in 1303, had failed. But this time the Kakatiya king found it difficult to cope with Malik Kafur. The king shut himself up in his impregnable fortress, but after a prolonged seige, was compelled to surrender in 1310 A.D. Kafur returned to Delhi with an immense amount of booty carried, as Amir Khusru writes, "on a thousand camels groaning under the weight of treasure".

After the subjugation of Devagiri and Warangal, Alauddin soon determined to bring under his authority the kingdoms in the farther south. So, in November, 1310, Alauddin sent a large army under Malik Kafur and Khaja Haji against Vira Ballala III, the Hoysala king of Dorasamudra. The Raja was taken by

surprise and submitted without resistance. The Hoysala king paid an enormous booty and accepted the authority of the Delhi Sultan.

Kafur next turned against the Pandya kingdom in the far south. A fratricidal struggle in the royal court furthered his design as one of the parties implored his help. Kafur reached Madura, the capital of the Pandya in 1311, and captured an immense booty. Amir Khusru tells us that Kafur advanced as far as Rameswaram. Leaving a Muslim governor at Madura, Kafura returned to Delhi.

In 1312 Sankaradeva, son of Ramchandradeva, being encouraged by the absence of Kafur from the Deccan withheld the tribute promised by his father to the Delhi Sultan, and tried to assert independence. So, Kafur again marched from Delhi, and defeated and killed Sankaradeva. Thus the whole of Southern India came under the sway of the Delhi Sultan.

Alauddin's Deccan policy was quite different from the policy he adopted in Northern India. In the North he adopted the policy of annexation. But in the Deccan he was not an annexationist. He did not replace the ruling Hindu kings. He allowed them to retain their kingoms on condition of acknowledging his supremacy and paying an annual tribute. Alauddin realised that it was difficult to maintain effective control over the distant provinces of the South. The policy of ruling the Deccan through tributary princes speaks of his wisdom and statesmanship.

Administration of Alauddin Khalji :—

Alauddin following the policy of Balban aimed at establishing an unbridled despotism and a strong centralised government. Political expediency was the guiding principle of his administration. In his theory of sovereignty and kingship he departed from that of his pre-

decessors. He challenged for the first time the authority of the Ullama in the affairs of the State and declared that there was no room for the mandate of religion in the affairs of State. He formulated his policy in these words: "I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful; whatever I think to be for the good of the state or suitable for the emergency, that I decree and as for what may happen to me on the day of Judgment that I know not." So according to him, what he commands is the law of the land. 'It would be, however, wrong," remark the authors of An Advanced History of India, "to surmise from this outlook of Ala-ud-din that he disregarded the religion of Islam." Amir Khusru considered him a good supporter of Islam. Alauddin himself said "I am a Mussalman of a Mussalman stock."

He clearly realised that the weakness of the Central government is due to disruptive tendencies of the Muslim nobility and the refractoriness of the Hindu chiefs. With a strong determination to stamp out these evils and make himself secure against rebellions, the Sultan framed a code of repressive regulations. The first blow was aimed at the wealth possessed by the nobles and high officers. All religious endowments were withdrawn, all grants of rent free land were confiscated, and tax-collectors were instructed to collect as much as they could. Secondly, he organised an elaborate system of espionage and kept himself informed of the conduct of the people especially of the nobility and the officials. "The system of reporting went to such a length that nobles dared not speak aloud even in the largest places and if they had anything to say they communicated by signs." Thirdly, the Sultan was convinced that the drinking places were the hot beds of seditious conspiraces, so he prohibited wine-drinking and wine-selling, and himself set the example by giving up drinking. Fourthly,

all social gatherings and family alliances of the nobles without his permission were forbidden. These measures brought the expected results ; no disturbance rose, peace and order prevailed every where.

Alauddin not only suppressed the Muslim nobility, he also took measures for checking the influence of the Hindu well-to-do classes. He found that the root cause of disaffection and rebellion lies in wealth and property. So he took drastic measures for depriving them of property and wealth. As a result the rich Hindu were reduced to poverty. The historian Barani says that the wives of *Khuts, Chaudhuries and Muqaddams* (hereditary assessors and collectors of revenue,) were compelled by their poverty to work as maid servants in the houses of their Muslim neighbours. But these measures were taken not out of religious bigotry but of political expediency. Relation between Hindus and Muslims were cordial. Law-abiding Hindus enjoyed the rights of citizenship as much as the Muslims.

Alauddin was a typical war-lord and as such he devoted much attention to the reorganisation of the army. Moreover, defence against Mongol inroads required a large military force. Hence instead of depending upon occasional supply of troops furnished by *Jagirdars*, Ala-ud-din created a large standing army directly recruited and paid in cash by the state. The Sultan fixed the pay of a soldier at 234 tankas a year and 78 tankas for a man maintaining two horses. Formerly armies were paid by grant of *Jagirs*. He also introduced the practice of branding the horses and of preparing descriptive rolls of soldiers.

His Revenue System. In formalating his revenue policy Alauddin was guided by two principles—the maximisation of state resources and the deprivation of the people of that wealth which fostered rebellion. In short, he used economic weapons for political purposes. In his revenue

system, he taxed the rich heavily. He abolished summarily all grants of land, pensions and endowments enjoyed by the Muslim noblity. The privileges enjoyed by the Hindu revenue officers such as the *Khuts, Chaudhuries* and *Muqaddams* were cancelled and the assessment and collection of revenue were entrusted to a large staff of officials. In addition to land revenue, a grazing tax and a house-tax were imposed. Alauddin was the first ruler of Indo-Pakistan who introduced the system of land survey and settlement. The revenue, officers according to Barani, became so much unpopular that nobody would give his daughter in marriage to them.

The historian Barani speaks highly of Alauddin's revenue policy. He says that in the matter of assessment and collection of revenue the entire kingdom was brought under one system. The revenue laws were enforced with great rigour so much so that the revenue officers were looked upon as the scourge of the society.

Price Control System. The most important administrative measure of Alauddin was his experiments in price-control system. To expand his empire and to check the Mongol raiders he had to increase the strength and efficiency of the army, and the problem before him was how to effect it at a minimum cost. The prices of the necessaries of life had gone up due to the influx of gold and silver which the Sultan had brought from the Deccan. This inflation entailed great hardhip on the soldiers and the people. To solve the problem Alauddin resolved to keep down prices by controlling the prices of all articles of daily use. Even animals like horses and cattle were brought under the perview of price regulation. Horses of the first class could be purchased for 100 to 120 tankas.*[1] A milch cow could be had for three or four tankas and a shegoat for ten

*1. The value of a tanka was a little more than that of a rupee.

or twelve or fourteen jitals. [2] Prices of all the essential food-stuffs such as wheat, barley, rice, mash, pulse, salt, sugar were also fixed by the state as follows :

Wheat	Per maund	7½	Jital
Barley	,, ,,	4	,,
Rice	,, ,,	5	,,
Mash	,, ,,	5	,,
Sugar	Per Seer	1½	,,
Salt	Per maunds	5	,, *[3]

None was allowed to hoard grain. The land revenue from the villages in the neighbourhood of Delhi was to be realised not in cash but in kind. The grain thus secured was stored in state-granaries, and was supplied at different places in times of scarcity. The peasants were to sell their produce only to registered merchants who had to purchase and sell at the fixed prices.

The cloth market was also controlled. Prices were fixed and the control order was comprehensive to include nearly all the varieties of cloths on demand. All cloth merchants, whether wholesale dealers or retailers, were registered and were required to bring all their cloths in the market known as Sarai Adal, and sell them at the regulated price. The merchants were given loan from the government treasury to bring cloths of better quality and of various designs from abroad.

A marketing department was established which strictly supervised the enforcement of the price regulation. The markets were controlled by two officers, the Diwan-i-Riyasat and the Shahna-i-mandi, and a body of spies were entrusted with the task of reporting to the Sultan. the condition of the market. Punishment for breach of regulations were severe. A shop-keeper defrauding his customers by giving short-weight had to make up for the deficiency by an equivalent amount of flesh cut off

2. Jital = 1/64 of a silver tanka.

*3. An advanced History of India.

from his body. All these measures minimised the cost of living and stopped smuggling, profiteering and black-marketing. His system worked successfully. In the words of Barni the "unvarying price of grain in the markets was looked upon as one of the wonders of the time."

An Estimate of Alauddin :—

Alauddin reigned from 1296 to 1316 A. D. Ibn Batuta calls him "one of the best Sultans." Barani eulogises him by saying that "during the reign of Alauddin there were several remarkable events and matters which had never been witnessed or heard of in any age and time, and probably never will be again." Ala-ud-din was undoubtedly the ablest and greatest of the Sultans. He was a self-willed ruler, whose ambition knew no bounds and brooked no restraint ; and whose methods were unscrupulous of medival India. His conquest justified his claim to be called 'Second Alexander.' His administration was marked by many new features and displayed a good deal of originality and even constructive statesmanship. He was the first Muslim ruler to introduce the system of land survey and settlement. His abolition of the system of granting *Jagirs* in lieu of cash payment was a novel and wise measure. By introduction of the system of branding the horses in the service of the state he did much to check corruption. His successful control of the market was a remarkble experiment to which there was no parallel in the history of ancient and medieval Indo-Pakistan. He was the first Muslim ruler of Indo-Pakistan who secularised the administration. However, ruthless and drastic might be his methods, they served their purpose. Peace and order was maintained ; the the Mongol invasions were beaten back.

As a soldier Alauddin was brilliant and terrible. He perpetuated terrible actrocities upon the recalcitrants.

He exhibited so much ferocity in killing political opponents particularly 'New Musalmans' that Barani remarks: "He shed more innocent blood that Pharaoh was guilty of." The greatest military achievement of his reign was the conquest of the Deccan. It is really astonishing that the Sultan could successfully pursue a policy of expansion at a time when he needed all the resources of the state to defend the empire against the inroads of the Mongols. In short, his reign marked an epoch in the history of Indo-Pakistan in the sense that it extended the Muslim rule to the whole of this sub-continent, reorganised civil and military administration, secularised the state and destroyed the Mongols.

Though illiterate, Ala-ud-din was a great patron of art, architecture and literature. He built a new city of Siri, Alai Darwaza and enlarged Qutbi mosque. Marshall remarks, "Alauddin was the author of buildings of unexampled grace and nobility." The poet Amir Khusru, Hasan and other learned persons received his patronage.

Last days of Alauddin The last days of the Sultan were not happy. Shattered in health and neglected by his wife and children, Alauddin became a puppet in the hands of Malik Kafur. Revolts broke out in Gujarat and the Deccan and the Rajputs recovered Chitor. In the midst of this trouble Alauddin expired on the 2nd January 1316. According to some, Kafur hastened his death by poisoning.

Successors of Ala-ud-din and the fall of the Khalji Dynasty :—

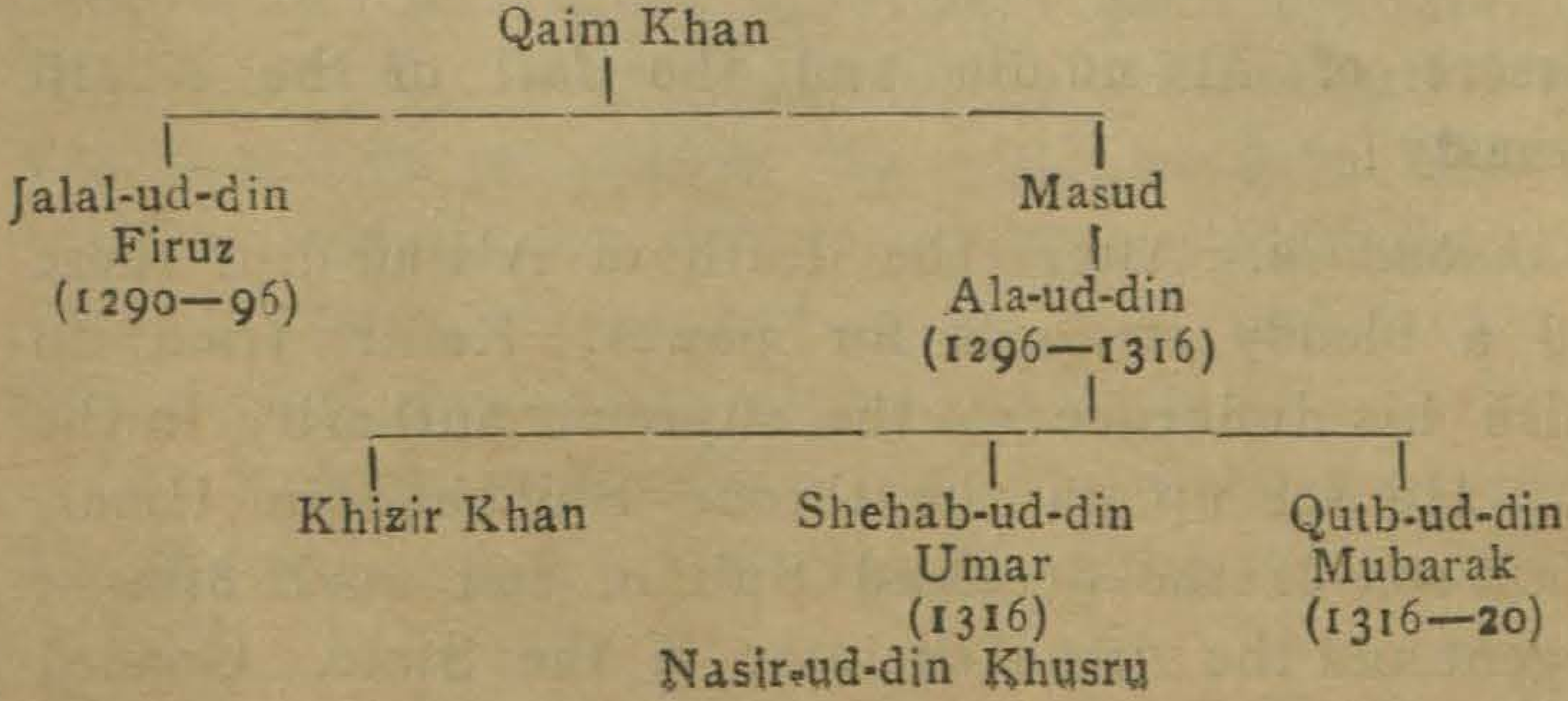
Shahabuddin. After the death of Ala-ud-din, there ensued a bloody struggle for power. Kafur tried to establish his influence as the supreme authority in the State. He set up on the throne Shihabuddin Umar, an infant son of the deceased Sultan, and made himself the regent and the virtual dictator of the State. Goaded

on by the ambition of seizing the throne, Kafur perpetrated the most horrible crimes. He blinded Khizr Khan, the eldest son of Alauddin, and killed or imprisoned most of the other members of the royal family. He plotted further crimes but his murderous career was cut short, after a "criminial rule" of thirty-five days, by the slave guards of the palace.

Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah. After the death of Kafur, Mubarak, the third son of Alauddin, ascended the throne under the title of Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah. He began his reign vigorously. He marched into the Deccan and defeated Raja Harapala of Devagiri who had revolted. But soon he gave himself up to the foulest vices. He left the conduct of the State affairs in the hands of a low-born Hindu conveit, styled Khusru Khan. Khusru Khan seized the throne in 1320 by killing Mubarak.

Khusru Khan. Khusru ascended throne of Delhi under the title of Nasiruddin Khusru Shah. He abused his ill-gotten power in the most shameless manner. He gathered round him the lowest rabble of Delhi and for five months the city was a veritable pandemonium. These low-born adventurers offended the Muslim aristocracy. Ghazi Malik, governor of the Punjab, with the support of all defeated nobles of Delhi in September, 1320, killed Khusru. The nobles persuaded him to accept the throne undert the title of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq Shah.

Genealogical Table of the Khalji Dynasty



CHAPTER VI

THE TUGHLAQ DYNASTY

Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1320—25 A. D.) :—

The opening scene of the Tughlaq dynasty was staged in the reign of Ghazi Malik who ascended the throne of Delhi under the title of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. Firishta tells us that his father was a Turki slave of Balban and his mother was a Jat woman of the Punjab He had risen to high position by dint of his personal merit, and the time of Alauddin Khalji had distinguished himself as a guardian of the frontier province against the Mongols. The choice of Ghazi Malik as the ruler of Delhi by the nobles was amply justified. "When he assumed the reins of office," remarks Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "the empire of Delhi was in a state of confusion, and it was with great tact, prudence and firmness that Ghiyasuddin restored order and recovered the moral prestige of the monarchy."

Administration of Ghiyasuddin. Ghiyasuddin proved himself a just and vigorous ruler. A devout and god-fearing man, he had a mild and liberal disposition. He acted with moderation and wisdom. Finances of the state were set in order. Unlawful grants were confiscated to the state. Proper arrangements were made for the collection of revenue and the auditing of accounts. He considerably lightened the burden of taxation by reducing the dues of the state to 1/10th of the produce. Agriculture was encouraged. Canals were excavated for irrigation. The army was also re-organised. The soldiers were treated with kindness and liberality. Reforms were introduced in other branches of administration, like justice and police. A most efficient postal system was introduced. A system of poor-relief was organised and strict

discipline was enforced. He built a strong fort called Tughlaqabad near Delhi for the defence of the north western frontier against the Mongol attacks. He appointed upright governors in the provinces.

His military Expeditions. Having settled the affairs of the empire, Ghiyasuddin sent an expedition in 1321 under the command of his son, Juna Khan, against Warangal in the Deccan, where the provinces conquered by Ala-ud-din had taken advantage of the recent troubles to shake off their allegiance to Delhi. Juna Khan's first expedition ended in failure. But his second attempt was successful and culminated in the capture of both Bidar and Warangal.

The kingdom of Bengal, ruled by the descendants of Bughra Khan, the younger son of Balban, had been left in place during the brief period of Khalji rule at Delhi. But Bughra's grandsons were now disputing the succession, and the eldest, Nasiruddin, having been worsted by his younger brother, Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, appealed to Delhi Sultan for help. The Sultan availed himself of this opportunity to bring under his effective control the distant province of Bengal. He marched into Bengal, captured Ghiyasuddin Bahadur who was sent as a prisoner to Delhi and placed Nasiruddin on the throne of West Bengal as a vassal ruler. On his way back to Delhi he reduced to submission the Hindu province of Tirhut.

Death of Ghiyasuddin. On his return to Delhi, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was killed by a fall of a pavilion, which had been built for his public reception. Some suspect that Juna Khan constructed the pavilion in such a way as to cause the death of his father and to hasten his accession. But a careful study of the contemporary and later works shows that the collapse of the pavilion was purely accidental and the prince had no hand in it.

Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325-1351) :—

On the death of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, his son Juna Khan, under the title of Muhammad bin Tughlaq ascended the throne in 1325 A. D. On the second year of his accession he had to face the rebellion of his cousin Baha-uddin, and the revolt of the governor of Multan. Both were defeated and killed. To add to his troubles a Mongol army under Tarmashrim invaded India and reached the outskirts of Delhi. The danger was averted by the device of buying off the enemy. The empire which Muhammad inherited from his father was one of the largest to which any king of India has ever succeeded. His reign constitutes the most momentous period in the history of medieval India. It falls broadly under two parts : (a) 1325-1335 ; and (b) 1535-1351. The first part was comparatively prosperous and peaceful ; the second witnessed increasing troubles culminating in rebellion and disintegration.

His ambitious projects. Muhammad bin Tughlaq was fond of trying experiments in administration, which usually ended disastrously. He undertook a number of projects for the good government of the Empire, but all of them failed. Some of these were, no doubt, sound iu theory but proved disastrons in practical operation. Hence with best of his intentions his whole career was a tragic failure. Baruni mentioned five projects of Muhammad : (1) the increased taxes in the Doab, (2) the making of Deogir into a capital, (3) the token currency, (4) the Khurasan expedition, and (5) the Quarachil expedition.

Oppressive taxation in ths Doab (1326-27). In the first place, he made a survey of all his kingdom and finding that the Doab was the most prosperous land and, therefore, possibly able to bear a heavier burden, he increased the taxation. It is difficult to determine the actual amount of additional assessment, owing to

discrepancies and vagueness in the accounts of contemporary and later historians. Baruni writes that the taxation in the Doab was "increased ten to twenty times". According to Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, the increment was twenty fold, while Badauni states that the taxes were doubled. Some moderu scholars suggest that the rate of taxation did not exceed 50 per cent of the rate imposed by Alauddin in the same area. They are also of opinion that the motive behind this enhancement was not to punish the refractory inhabitants of the Doab as Badauni said, but as a modern historian, Sir Wolseley Haig, have asserted, to "increase his military resources and to organise the administration on an efficient basis". Another view is that "the fiasco of the Khurasan and Quarachil expeditions and the failure of the token currency adversely effected the finances of the empire and led to the enhancement of taxation in the Doab[1]". Uufortunately, the next year the rains failed and, in consequence, famine broke out. Sultan heard of it, he ordered a reduction of taxes. To redress the suffering of the people he had to supply profuse relief. He granted loans, constructed irrigation-wells and brought waste-lands under cultivation. This clearly shows the good intention of the king.

Transfer of Capital. The Sultan's second project was the transfer of the capital from Delhi to Deogir. Muslim rule had extended far beyond the Vindhyas. The Deccan now formed a part of the empire, and Delhi no longer occupied the central position from which the whole of the empire could be effectively governed. Barni clearly writes of Deogir: "This place held a central situation ; Delhi, Gujarat, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sonargaon, Telingana, Mabar, Dorasamudra and Kampila

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1. Agha Mahdi Husain—The Rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

were about equidistant from thence, there being but a slight difference in the distance." Again, there were hostile kingdoms on the southern borders, so, to consolidate the southern part of the empire, the presence of the king was thought advisable. "One of the factors controlling the situation in the Deccan was the scarcity of the Muslims—a fact which made it so tempting to the Hindu rulers to revolt, and so difficult for the emperor of Delhi immediately to control the situation from so great a distance[1]." Gardner Brown, a reputed scholar, thinks that the emperor intended to take the new provinces of the Deccan under his personal rule, because Deogir was more centrally situated than Delhi and closer to the scene of action in the Deccan to make it into a second capital. Further, the new capital was safe from Mongol invasions, which constantly threatened Delhi.

Ibn Battuta[2] writes that the Sultan was disgusted with the citizens of Delhi, who used to write abusive and scandalous letters. So, he resolved to lay Delhi waste. But there is no authentic evidence to show that so serious a measure as the transfer of the capital was decided upon on so frivolous a ground.

The methods adopted by the Sultan to execute his plan were constructive and philanthropic rather than destructive. The Sultan did his best to make the new capital a suitable abode for his officers and the people. All facilities were provided for the intending immigrants. A spacious road was built from Delhi to Daulatabad (Deogir) and food and accommodation were freely supplied to the emigrants. Trees were planted on both sides of

1. Agha Mahdi Husain—Rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

2. The Statement of Ibn Battuta is based upon hearsay, for when the transfer took place in 1326-27 A. D, he was not present in India.

the roads to provide shade. Even Baruni states that the Sultan "was bounteous in his liberality and favoured to the emigrants, both on their journey and, on their arrival." Ibn Battuta's, assertion that Delhi was reduced to a desert and Barni's observation that "not even a dog or a cat was left in the city" was not confirmed by the facts. These are in all probability mere bazar gossips. Complete destruction or evacuation of the city is unthinkable. Modern researches reveal that Delhi was never deserted nor ceased to be the capital, as Devagiri was made only a second capital. He did not compel the people to leave Delhi on masse. Shihabuddin, the author of 'MasalikulAbsar,' also mentions that the empire of Delhi had two capitals; Delhi and Deogir (Daulatabad).

It must be confessed, however, that the plan eventually failed. Transfer of capital was a frequent occurrence in ancient and medieval times, and Muhammad does not deserve condemnation simply for his decision to leave Delhi. It failed because the nobles could not adjust themselves in the Deccan, his hold over the North was slackned, and the Mongol attacks necessitated his presence in the North. So when the Sultan realised the futility of his scheme, he ordered his people to return to Delhi. The return journey entailed much hardship and caused death to many. However the Sultan made amends for all the losses to the survivors and there can be no question as to his sincerity and good wishes for the people. So, Daulatabad may be called "a monument of misdirected energy[1]."

Introduction of Token Currency (1329-30). Muhammad bin Tughlaq carried out several monetary experiments and has been described by Edward Thomas as a "Prince of Moneyars." He remodelled the entire system of coinage and re-adjusted its fractions to the relative

1. Mr. Staniey Lane-Poole.

value of gold and silver. But the most daring of his experiments was the issue of a token currency in copper coins between A. D. 1329 and 1330 for which there had been examples before him in China and Persia. Towards the close of the thirteen the century, Kublai Khan. the Mongol Emperor of China, introduced a paper currency in China, and Gai Khatu, the ruler of Persia, tried it in A. D. 1294.

The motives of the Sultan behind this measure, in the opinion of Baruni, were to replenish his treasury which had been considerably lightened by his prodigal generosity, relief and his extravagant projects. But it is a miatake to regard his attempt as the result of such bankruptcy. That the treasury was still rich is confirmed by the fact that the emperor, after the failure of the token currency, had enough gold to pay in exchange for all the copper tokens, genuine or spurious, which had been issued by the government or forged by the shopkeepers and goldsmiths. Thus he cannot be accused of any device or design to defraud the people.

The scheme was on the whole quite good and statesmanlike. It was successful in the beginning, but met in the end with complete failure. Because the copper tokens could be easily minted in private houses and the Sultan took no steps to prevent private and unauthorised issue of the copper coins. The result was that every house was turned into a mint, and they paid their taxes with the counterfeit copper coins. Baruni tells us that "the promulgation of this edict turned the house of every Hindu into a mint, and the Hindus of the various provinces coined crores and lacs of copper coins." The treasury lost its credit and imports were almost stopped because the foreign merchants refused to accept the token currency. Another great cause of its failure was that the reform was far in advance of the age and the people could not grasp

its real significance, so they did not co-operate with the authority in this matter. In short, the scheme failed more on account of prejudice, ignorance and lack of proper safeguards than on account of any inherent defects. When the situation was brought to a head, the Sultan ordered the withdrawal of the copper currency and asked people to take from the state-treasury gold and silver in exchange of their copper coins. Thus inspite of good intentions this novel but economically sound system proved a total failure.

His Khurasan and Quarachil expeditions. Muhammad bin Tughlaq cherished the ambition for conquering Khurasan, Iran and Transoxiana. At the inspiration of some Khurasani nobles, who took shelter in his court, Muhammad Tughlaq collected a huge army for conquering Khurasan. Barni tells us that 3,70,000 men were enrolled. For a whole year they were supported and paid but as they were not employed in war and conquest, when the next year came round there was not sufficient money in the treasury to pay them. So they were disbanded. But he gives no reason why Khurasan expedition was not undertaken. Probably the expedition did not materialise as the idea was abandoned due to the change of political and diplomatic conditions and the formidable difficulties involved in it.

According to the historian Ferishta, the Sultan launched another vast army for the conquest of China. But the contemporary historian, Ziauddin Baruni, says that the expedition was directed not against China but against a refractory hill chieftain of Quarachil mountain lying between Indo-Pakistan and China. The expedition gained its objectives as the turbulent hillmen came to terms and agreed to pay tribute to the Sultan.

A charge brought against Muhammad Tughlaq for his expeditions against Khurasan and China calling

them 'fantastic' and 'wild' schemes. But the Khurasan expedition was not a mad adventure. It did not materialise due to the change in political conditions. The China expedition was a misnomer as the expedition was not against China but a turbulent hilly chief of Quarachil; and inspite of heavy loss, it proved success. No contemporary historians mention of his object to conquer China and Tibet.

Rebellions. The last fifteen years of Muhammad bin Tughlaq was not peaceful. The year 1335 was a year of rebellions and disorders. Revolts broke out in Bengal, Qudh, Gujarat, and the Deccan. Some of these revolts were put down in the most ruthless manner characteristic of the Sultan but he could not effectively cope with the hydra-headed rebellions. The empire began to break up.

The first important rebellion was that of Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah in Mabar and it occurred in 1335 A. D. The Sultan personally marched to chastise the rebel. But a sudden out-break of cholera in the royal camp compelled him to abandon the expedition. Jalal proclaimed his independence and founded the independent Muslim kingdom of Madura. During Sultan's absence from Delhi Amir Halajun revolted in the Punjab, killed the governor of Lahore and declared his independence. But Halajun was defeated and Lahore occupied.

In Bengal Fakhruddin proclaimed himself independent and struck coins in his own name. The Sultan of Delhi, then preoccupied with other troubles, could do nothing to subdue him, and Bengal thus became an independent province.

Rebellions followed in quick succession also in other parts of the Empire, the most formidable one being that of Ainul-Mulk, the governor of Qudh and Zafarabad in 1340-41. In 1340-41, when Ainul-Mulk was transfered from Oudh to Devagiri, he was persuaded by some miscreants to believe that this transfer was a

preliminary step towards his fall. So he revolted, but was defeated and captured.

When troubled on all sides by rebellions, Muhammad bin Tughlaq invoked the shade of the Abbasid Caliph of Cairo and received from him the diploma of investiture. But the Caliph's blessing neither restored his waning popularity nor relieved his embarrassments. He was faced with serious difficulties in almost all parts of his kingdoms. In the Deccan Hari Hara and his brother founded the kingdom of Vijayanagar in 1336 A. D. The Deccaneese organised a national movement against the Muslim rule and freed Warangal and Dorasamudra from Muslim domination. In 1347 A. D. the foreign Amirs revolted in Devagiri and the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom was laid by Abul Muzaffar Alauddin Bahman Shah. When the Sultan proceeded to quell a disturbance in one part, another broke out in a different part. While he was busy in suppressing the revolt at Thatta (Sind), he was attacked with fever and died on 20th March 1351 A. D. Such was the end of this unlucky monarch. "And so", says Badauni, "the king was freed from his people and they from their king."

Estimate of Muhammad bin Tughlaq :—

Muhammad bin Tughlaq was a striking character in Indo-Pak history,—a sober, God-fearing and hard working monarch. He has been described as a "mixture of opposites" by Badauni. He was undoubtedly a gifted man with many good qualities of head and heart but his career was a tragic failure. Intellectually he was far advance of his age, a great scholar well-versed in almost every science then known to orientals. The versatility of his genius took by surprise all his contemporaries. He was an excellent calligraphist and an eloquent speaker. He had a knowledge of logic, Greek philo-

sophy, mathematics and physical sciences. His letters prove his skill in composition both in Arabic and Persian. His memory was extraordinary. He was a pious Mussalman. Ibn Battuta tells us that "he follows the principles of religion with devoutness and performs the prayer himself and punishes those who neglect them." In his private life he was free from the prevailing vices of the age, and he led a simple life. His generosity became a tradition. Baruni says that what Hatim gave in a year, he gave at one time. Though a devout Muslim, he was never a bigot. His liberalism is reflected in his desire to be tolerant towards the Hindus. In war he was distinguished for gallantry and hard-work. Muhammad bin Tughlaq had ruled an empire, larger and richer than that of any of his predecessors. His kingdom spread from the Punjab in the north-west to Bengal in the east, while in the south his dominion extended to Mysore and the Coromandal coast. Never again till the time of Aurangzeb did a Sultan of Delhi hold such a wide sway.

Baruni calls him the 'wonder of creation.' Mr. Moreland says, "His conduct was a mass of inconsistencies." The charges of madness, insanity and blood-thirstiness brought against him by the later historians are mostly baseless. We should bear in mind that punishments were always severe in the days of Muhammad bin Tughlaq everywhere. Both Baruni and Ibn Battuta say that he was not fond of shedding blood for its own sake, and that he could be kind, generous and just even towards his enemies. A careful examination of evidence shows that the Sultan was one of the most accomplished and gifted rulers of Indo-Pakistan. He 'was neither visionary nor impractical, nor inherently unsound, nor were his grandiose schemes beyond the range of human possibility.' He was a "grossly misunderstood sovereign". His plan for the establishment of a central capital and the

introduction of token currency were not unsound. But because of his failure due to several factors, people have misunderstood him and regarded his policy as fanciful.

Inspite of all his good qualities of head and heart, Muhammad bin Tughlaq was not successful as a ruler. But his failure was largely due to circumstances over which he had no control such as a long famine, non-co-operation of the officers, opposition of the Ullamas and the ignorance of the people who failed to appreciate his advanced ideas. Dr. Iswari Prosad says, "A severe famine which lasted for more than a decade marred the glory of his reign and set his subjects against him. The verdict that declares him a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant like Nero or Caligula does little justice to his great genius and ignores his conspicuous plan to cope with famine and his efforts to introduce ameliorative reforms." He had a good heart and a sincere intention to uphold the interest of the empire. But he never got the co-operation of the officers who were entrusted with the enforcement of his reforms and projects. He was far in advance of his age and people could not apreciate his high ideas. Besides, the Ullamas created no less troubles as the Sultan encroached upon their political influence. But the real cause of his failure lay in his obstinacy to carry out his scheme in the face of grim opposition.

The character of Muhammad bin Tughlaq has thus aroused a great deal of controversy. It is now said that Baruni and Ibn Batuta were orthodox Muslims and as such were prejudiced against the Sultan for his liberal outlook. Hence they have magnified his failures and minimised his achievements. His intentions were no doubt good. But mere good intentions were not enough, statesmanship demands that measures must not merely be sound on paper but should admit of

practical application to existing circumstances. Many of Muhammad's projects display his political insight but his methods of executing them betray his practical judgement and commonsense. We may conclude in the words of Lane Poole: "with the best intentions, excellent ideas, but no balance or pa'ience, no sense of proportion, Muhammad Tughlaq was a transcendent failure."

Ibn Battuta :—

No account of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign is complete without a reference to the visit of the Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta, who came to India when Muhammad was on the throne of Delhi. His career forms one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Muslim world. He was born at Tangiers in 1304. He had an inborn liking for travel. He started his journey in 1325 and did not return home until 1353. Ibn Battuta visited Delhi about 1334. He received a Jagir from the Sultan, and was subsequently appointed Qazi of the capital. He remained in the service of the Sultan for eight years. After his retirement from this office, he was sent as an ambassador to the Emperor of China but this mission failed, as the ship in which he travelled was wrecked, and he escaped to his native land. He died in 1377-78.

Ibn Battuta has left a very interesting account of the empire. But his account should be accepted with great caution. He often confuses bazar-gossips with history. The most important thing in his account is the light it throws upon the character of the Sultan. His testifies to his boundless generosity and as well as to his inhuman cruelty. It should be borne in mind that he was once thrown into prison by the Sultan and for that he had the jealousy with him and that he could not forget. But inspite of all these, the

record of his travels is of great value to the students of history.

Firuz Shah Tughlaq (1351—88) :—

His accession. The death of Muhammad bin Tughlaq occurreed in peculiarly unfortunate circumstances, and, while anarchy at Delhi was probable, anarchy in the army, leaderless and beset by dangers, was immediate. A contemporary historian, Baruni, writes that the late Sultan had nominated Firuz as his heir-apparent. His statement is corroborated by another contemporary historian, Shams-i-Siraj Afif. Accordingly the nobles urged Firuz to ascend the throne and save the dispirited army from destruction. Firuz accepted the throne with great reluctance. But in the meanwhile Khwaja Jehan proclaimed a child to be the son of Muhammad, but Khwaja Jehan soon submitted to Firuz.

His military campaigns. Firuz was a contrast to his cousin. He was a man of peace and lacked soldierly qualities. He lacked ambition, courage and that ruthless zeal for war which was a necessary qualification for success in his age.

Firuz led two expeditions against Bengal to bring it back to the allegiance of Delhi but his attempts proved abortive. Haji Ilyas who had styled himself Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah was an independent ruler of North Bengal. He had established his authority over both Eastern and Western Bengal and invaded Tirhut. Thereupon Firuz marched from Delhi, at the head of 70,000 horse, (November, 1353) to repel them. Ilyas retired to Ikdala, a village situated on islands in the Brahmaputra, and protected by the dense jungle along the rivers banks. Firuz was unable to reduce this stroughold and was obliged to retreat. In the language of Thomas, "the invasion only resulted in the confession of weakness."

Three years later Firuz again invaded Bengal at the request of Zafar Khan, son-in-law of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah who had established his independence in Eastern Bengal. Ilyas conquered Eastern Bengal in 1352 and thus shattered Zafar Khan's hopes of succeeding his father-in-law. Mubarak took refuge at the court of Firuz where he had been favourably received. On the flimsy pretext of vindicating Zafar's rights Firuz marched from Delhi in the spring of 1359. On his way to Bengal Firuz founded the city of Jaunpur, in memory of his cousin, Fakhruddin Juna (Muhammad bin Tughlaq). When he arrived in Bengal, Sikandar, son and successor of Ilyas Shah, like his father retired to Ikdala. Thus the second siege was no more successful than the first, and Sikandar obtained peace on very favourable terms.

Firuz retired to Jaunpur, and in the autumn of 1360, led an expedition into Orissa. The Raja of this place submitted and promised to send an annual tribute. His next military exploit was the reduction of the fortress of Nagarkot. After a long siege Firuz compelled the Hindu chief of Nagarkot to submit.

In 1361-62, Firuz turned his arms against the Jam (ruler) of Sind with a view to punish the people of Thatta for their disloyalty to Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He marched towards Thatta at the head of an army of 90,000 horses, 480 elephants, and 5,000 boats. The ruler of Thatta Jam Babaniya strongly defended his city. Moreover, sudden out-break of famine and pestilence swept away one fourth of the imperial army and the Sultan was compelled to retreat to Gujarat. Afterwards, when fresh reinforcement came, he resumed the attack and forced the Jam to submit. The Jam was granted a liberal pension and his brother Tamachi was allowed to govern.

Administration of Firuz Shah. Firuz was a just

ruler, and did his best to restore the prosperity of the country. Firuz has a record of some benevolent measures to his credit, and during his long reign of thirty seven years, India enjoyed perfect peace. The author of TarikkiFiruz Shahi gives us in some detail about the administrative system of Firuz. One of his earliest measures was the revival of Jagir system. This method of paying public servants had been abolished by Ala-uddin who condemned it as tending to foster rebellion. Firuz revived this system probably with a view to conciliate the nobles and the officials. He was a true friend of the peasants and he remitted the loans advanced to them by the late Sultan during the famine. He also reformed the revenue system. He abolished many taxes and removed the flagrant abuses connected with the collection of revenue. He abolished many vexatious and unjust cesses and placed the system of taxation on the Quranic basis. He promoted internal trade by withdrawing some oppressive duties and regulations. The State officers were strictly warned against demending anything more than the prescribed dues, and were punished for unjust exactions. Agriculture was further improved. Wastelands were reclaimed, irrigation facilities were provided. Afif tells us that Firuz excavated four cannals: One from Sutlej to the Ghaghar (93 miles), another from Sirmur to Arasani, a third from Ghagher to Firuzabad and the fourth from Jumna to Firuzabad. The results of these measures were indeed beneficial for trade and agriculture; people became rich and happy. Shamsi-Siraj Afif writes "Their homes were replete with grain, property, horses and furniture; everyone had plenty of gold and silver; no woman was without her ornaments and no house without good beds and divans. Wealth abounded and comforts were general. The State did not suffer from financial bankruptcy during this reign."

Firuz reorganised the Judicial system in accordance with the principles of the Quran. He tried to make the Judicial system more humane thon before. He somewhat mitigated the severity of criminal law by abolishing tortures like the amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses, and tearing out of the eyes.

The Sultan was kindly disposed towards the poor and the unemployed. His other benevolent measures included the establishment of a charitable hospital (Darus-Shafa) in Delhi, the creation of an employment bureau to solve the problem of unemployment. He further established a charity bureau (Diwan-i-Khairat) for giving pecuniary help for the marriage of poor girls.

Firuz was equally interested in the spread of learning. He built as many as fifty madrasahs which were liberally endowed. He not only caused numerous Sanskrit works to be translated into Persian but also generously patronised the divines and scholars. One of the greatest divines who enjoyed the Sultan's favour was Jalaluddin Rumi,. He granted pensions and gratuities to them. The Sultan was fond of history, and the celetrated historical works of Baruni and Afif, besides other works on law and theology, were written during his reign.

Firuz was also an enthusiastic builder and had a great passion for building new cities. He founded the town of Jaunpur, Fatehabad, Hissar, and Firuzpur. He also built a new capital near Delhi and named it Firuzabad. He constructed or restored a number of mosques, palaces, sarais, reservoirs, hospitals, tombs, baths, monumental pillars and bridges. He was equally interested in gardening. He rebuilt 30 old gardens of Alauddin and laid out 1,200 new ones in the vicinity of Delhi. He also preserved two monoliths of Asoka in his capital.

Firuz organised the military on a feudal basis,

There were about 90,000 cavalry and about 2,00,000 irregular soldiers. The soldiers were supplied with all sorts of provisions and they were treated very kindly. For their benefit the Sultan ordered that the unfit soldiers should be replaced by their sons or sons-in-law, or slaves or nearest relatives. Firuz, thus, weakened the military organisation of the Sultanate by his misplaced generosity. This recognition of hereditary claim in military service without regards for personal merit led to the undermining of efficiency of the army. The reign of Firuz witnessed an unprecedented rise in the number of slaves. From the various parts of the empire slaves were sent by viceroys and were granted allowances. The number of slaves rose so high that he had to maintain a separate department for them. Shamsi-Siraj Afif tells us that the number of slaves in the capital and the provinces rose to 180,000.

Estimate of Firuz. Firuz was one of the best, though not one of the greatest, of the Delhi Sultans. He was generous and humane and possessed the excellent qualities of heart. There was few ruler of Delhi, so humble, merciful, truth-loving, faithful and pious. ShamsiSiraj Afif extols his virtues in terms of hyperbolical praise. His long reign was marked by an unbroken peace and prosperity. He mitigated the severity of criminal law by abolishing torture and mutilation as forms of punishment. Several measures were devised by him to promote the welfare of his subjects of all classes. He was a great patron of learning and took all possible pains for the spread of education by setting up schools and colleges.

As a devout Muslim Firuz sought to govern the country according to the tenets of Islam. He might not be liberal to the Hindus but not intolerant to them. The story of his burning alive a Brahmin and of murdering some Hindus for having built a new temple

is derived from a dubious source of information but it was a military tax levied on them in lieu of military service. But he did not demonstrate any partiality to his co-religionists. He made them pay Zakat which was far heavier a tax than the Jizya. Dr. Smith's observation of Firuz as one "who carried on the savage traditions of the early invaders" is sad judgement. While estimating the nature of Firuz's intolerance, Dr. Smith did not take into consideration the age Firuz lived in. That was the age of religious intolerance. Hence to call Firuz a bigot because he was not advance of his age, is not justified.

The last days of Firuz were far from peaceful. As he grew old, the effeciency of the government declined. He left the affairs of the state in the hands of his ministers. Firuz died in 1338 at the good old age of ninety.

But all these well-merited epithets of Firoz should not blind us to his political failures. Firuz, who was otherwise so good a ruler, proved to be a bad general and the empire dwindled in extent. He was irresolute and weak-willed and lacked the qualities of good generalship He made no ettempts to recover the Deccan. His half hearted attempts to bring Bengal back to the allegiance of Delhi also proved abortive. The revival of Jagirs was most ill-advised measure of Firuz. This measure apparently strengthened his position but ultimately served to engender a tendency to decentralisation, which undermined the authority of the central government. The maintenance of a huge number of slaves entailed a heavy loss on the treasury and the reorganisation of the army on feudal basis weakened the military organisation of the Sultanate.

Fall of the Tughlaq Dynasty :—

After the death of Firuj Tughlaq a number of weak princes sat on the throne of Delhi, and the

story of their reigns is a record of intrigues and revolts. The last of the Tughlaqs, Mahmud became king in 1394. His was a tragic reign. Four provinces namely Malwa, Gujarat, Khandesh and Jaunpur became independent. A famine, which lasted for twelve years, wasted the Deccan and last but not the least was that in his reign the terrible Timur invaded India.

Invasion of Timur. When the Sultanate of Delhi was on the brink of disintegration, Amir Timur, one of the most terrible military leaders known to history, invaded India. Timur, son of Amir Turghay, was born in Transoxiana in 1336 A. D. He ascended the throne of Samarqand at the age of 33 and then embarked upon the career of aggressive conquests. He conquered Persia, Afghanistan and Mesopotamia and had announced his intention of invading India, and Pir Muhammad. his forerunner, had already occupied a frontier province. The wealth of India naturally excited his temptation to invade this land and the greater stimulus was the desintegration of the Empire.

Early in 1398 Timur joined his grandson, Pir Muhammad,at Multan and marched on Delhi. He massacred the people of Talamba, defeated Jasrat the Khokar on the Sutlej, captured Bhatnair and massacred its inhabitants, and then marched on towards the capital, plundering, massacring and enslaving people. On December 10, 1398, having crossed the Jumna, he occupied Loni, and made it its head quarter. Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud and Mulla Iqbal endeavoured to oppose him. But Timur, crossing the river, fell upon and defeated Mulla and Mahmud. Timur occupied Delhi on December 18 and agreed, on the mediation of the Muslim divines, to spare the citizens. He ordered the people of Delhi to pay a vast sum of money, but when his soldiers went from house to house to collect it there were fights in the streets in which

some of Timur's men were killed. Enraged at this, he ordered the people of Delhi to be massacred, and the city to be pillaged. His orders were carried out, and for days human blood flowed freely and heaps of dead bodies made the roads impassable. Timur had no desire to stay in India. On January 1, 1399, Timur retired, marched back through Meerut which he took by storm and whose inhabitants he massacred with accustomed barbarity. He then captured Kangra and sacked Jumna. Having appointed Khizr Khan Sayyid to the government of Multan and Lahore, Timur re-crossed the Indus with an immense booty and a large train of captives, many of whom were sent to Samarkand to teach the people there the famous handicrafts of India.

CHAPTER VII

THE SAYYID AND THE LODI DYNASTIES

The Sayyids (1414—1451) :—

With the death of Sultan Mahmud in 1413, Khizr Khan Sayyid who claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet, became practically the master of Delhi and founded the Sayyid dynasty which lasted for thirty nine years. Their territory consisted of Delhi and the country round its wall. Khizr did not assume royal style but professed to rule as a viceroy of Timur's son and successor, Shah Rukh. But his allegiance to Timur was nothing more than a political fiction, for the coins struck by the Sayyids bore the names of the regular Sultans of Delhi of the last dynasty and not that of Timur. The history of Khizr Khan is mainly a tale of perpetual struggle to retain some control over Delhi and its immediate neighbourhood. Khizr Khan's authority was confined to Delhi, the Doab and the Punjab. But the turbulent Hindu chiefs of Etawah, Kampila, Katehr, gave him no rest. He died in 1421. He lived like a true Sayyid and never indulged in unnecessary bloodshed. Firishta extols Khizr Khan as "a great and wise king, kind and true to his word, his subjects loved him with a grateful affection and raised his son Mubarak Shah to the throne."

Khizr Khan was succeedeed by his son **Mubarak Shah.** His reign lasted for thirteen years, which is as uneventful and dreary as that of his father. A few expeditions against the Khokar chief, and the Hindus of the Doab exhaust the history of his reign. Mubarak was a kind and generous king. The contemporary chronicler praises him as 'A clement and generous sovereign, full of excellent qualities. He was murdered in 1434.

Mubarak left no son, and the nobles at Delhi enthroned Muhammad Shah, the son of his deceased brother, Farid. Muhammad found it difficult to cope with the forces of disorder and rebellion. The Hindu chiefs ceased to pay tribute and Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur seized several parganas belonging to Delhi. He ruled for about 12 years. He died in 1445 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Alauddin Alam Shah. Alam Shah, the last of the Sayyids, abdicated in favour of Bahlul Lodi, an Afghan noble, and retired to Budaun, where he passed the rest of his life in the contemplation of God.

The Lodies (1451—1526) :—

Bahlul Lodi. On the abdication of Alam Shah, Bahlul Khan, belonging to the Lodi tribe of Afghans, ascended the throne in 1451. This new dynasty came to be known as the Lodi dynasty. Bahlul was active and war-like, and was resolved to restore the kingdom to its former pre-eminence. He would be puppet in hands of none, and one of his earliest acts was to imprison Hamid Khan an old minister at whose invitation he had ascended the throne. He also frustrated an attempt on the part of Mahmud Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur to get possession of Delhi. He then reduced the turbulent chiefs of the provinces to submission and infused some vigour into the government. Thus Ahmed Khan of Mewat, Dariya Khan of Sambhal, Isa Khan of Koil, Mubarak Khan of Suket, Raja Pratap Singh of Mainpuri and Bhongaon, Qutb Khan of Rewari and the chiefs of many districts of Doab, which had caused so much trouble were made to acknowledge the authority of Delhi. But the most important event of his reign was the conquest of Jaunpur To effect this he had to wage a long war lasting for twenty six years against Husain Shah, the last Sharqi king of Jaunpur. Bahlul appointed his son Barbak

Shah, as the viceroy of Jaunpur. The conquest of this kingdom restored the old frontier of the Delhi empire as far as Benares.

"A man of simple habits, pious, brave and generous, Buhlul was a good soldier and powerful king.' He deserves a high place in history as the restorer of the Muslim power in Hindustan. Though not a learned man himself, he valued the society of the learned and extended his patronage to them.

Sikandar Lodi (1489—1517). After Bahlul's death, his second son Nizam Khan was proclaimed king under the title Sultan Sikandar Shah. The early days of his reign were not peaceful; those who had opposed him he was obliged to have recourse to arms against them. Among them was his brother, Barbak, whom he defeated, and generously re-appointed to Jaunpur. But Barbak failed to deal effectively with a serious rebellion of the Hindu Zamindars of the province. Sikandar suppressed the rebellion and removed his brother from the government of the province. The Zamindars sought help of Husain Shah, the Sharqi Sultan, who came at the head of a large force but was defeated and compelled to take refuge in Bengal, where he passed the remaining years of his life in obscurity. Sikandar thus strengthened his position. He also annexed Bihar and Tirhut, reduced Gwalior to subjection and concluded a treaty with Alauddin Shah of Bengal. He did not spare even the haughty Afghans. His dominion included the country between Sutlej and Bundelkhand, thus recalling the earlier supremacy of the Delhi empire.

Sikandar was the ablest ruler of the Lodi dynasty. He has been highly praised by contemporary as well as by some later writers for his excellent qualities of his head and heart. A firm, vigilant and upright ruler, he entertained kind feelings for the poor and the needy. He listened to the complaints of the poor himself and

tried to redress them. Sikandar was a strong ruler. He kept the Afghan barons in check and strictly enforced his orders. An efficient system of espionage kept the Sultan informed of every thing that happened in his empire. He abolished corn duties and patronised trade and commerce. He encouraged learning and took a special interest in the study of medicine. During his reign the country was prosperous and living was exceptionally cheap. But Sikandar was too orthodox and intolerant towards the Hindus. In this respect, he could not shake off the influence of the age when religious toleration was known nowhere in the world.

Ibrahim Lodi (1517-26 A. D.): After the death of Sikandar Lodi nobles at Agra raised to the throne his eldest son Ibrahim, but a faction advocated the partition of the kingdom and enthroned Jalal khan, Ibrahim's younger brother in Jaunpur. Ibrahim marched against Jalal Khan, defeated him and thus baffled the attempt of dividing the empire. Ibrahim possessed military skill but was devoid of administrative capacity. He sought to enhance the dignity of his position by crushing the pretensions of the powerful Afghan nobles. Firishta says that "contrary to the custom of his father and grandfather, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly that all around should be considered as subjects and servants of the state, and the Afgan chiefs who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne with their hands crossed before them." This assumption of superior airs gave mortal offence to the proud Afghans. Ibrahim was confronted with a difficult situation. The territory of the empire had increased in extent; the feudal aristocracy who looked upon their Jagirs "as their own right, and purchased by their swords rather than as due to any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign" had

become ungovernable. His drastic measures provoked the resentm ent of their half-loyal nobility and paved the way for the disruption of the Afghan empire.

Ibrahim was not wholly to blame. The break up of the empire was bound to come sooner or latter. The discontent of the nobles reached its climax and Daulat Khan Lodi, a semi-independent governor of the Punjab, invited Babur, king of Kabul, to invade India. Babur responded to the call of Daulat Khan, invaded India and defeated Ibrahim on the field of Panipat in 1526. Ibrahim was killed in action and with him the Delhi Sultanate came to an end.

Causes of the downfall of the Delhi Sultanate :—

The history of the Delhi Sultanate presents an interesting drama of the rise and fall of the various dynasties. "Of the specific causes of the downfall of the Delhi Sultanate, the first was the inherent weakness of the government, the second, the deterioration of the ruling house, the third, the abuse of slavery, the fourth, decentralization and provincialization, the fifth the strength of the Hindu opposition, and the sixth, the disturbing effect of the Mongol raids."*

Despotism was the nature of government then. The strength of the government depended upon that of monarch. The accession of a weak ruler was the signal for anarchy. Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish was a capable ruler, his successors Ruknuddin, Firuz, Raziyya, Muizzuddin, Bahram and Masud were weak rulers and under them everything was thrown into confusion. Treachery, assassination, intrigue and discord got an upper hand. When Balban came to power, he put the things on right tract. But again he left no worthy successor behind. In the Khalji period, Alauddin was the only able and successful

* Agha Mahdi Husain's The rise and fall of Muhammad bin Tuglaq.

ruler. He introduced reforms into every department of government. But both his reforms and his empire were short-lived. What he created died with him. The Tughlaqs and their successors did nothing to the growth of a unified state. Thus with the exception of a few rulers, the history of Delhi Sultanate does not present able rulers. Moreover, the Delhi Sultanate lacked a constitution, a permanent executive or legeslative body.

There was no definite and rigid law of succession to the throne of Delhi Sultanate. The death of a king often was the signal for civil war between candidates, belonging to the ruling dynasty or even from outside. Hence were the frequent changes of dynasties. Each dynasty, as we know, had produced only one or two capable rulers, after which it deteriorated. This deterioration was further caused by the increasing tendency of some of the Sultans towards Indianization. Alauddin's "wooing of Hindu princesses and his infatuation for Malik Kafur did more than anything else to undermine his prestige and to degrade the monarchy," remarks Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain.

The slaves proved a constant source of danger to the Delhi Sultanate. Primarily, the slaves were a source of great strength to Muslim rule in India, and some of them—Qutbuddin Aibak, Shamsuddin Iltutmish and Ghiyasuddin Balban proved most capable rulers. But soon the system was so corrupted that it ceased to produce men of character. The slaves of Khalji and Tughlaq periods were far from being faithful and brave. When Firuz became king there was an unprecendent rise in the number of slaves. According to the Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, the number of Sultan Firuz Shah's slaves amounted to one lakh. According to Sham-i-Siraj Afif, the number of slaves in the capital and the provinces rose to one lakh and eighty

thousands. They were neither loyal nor faithful. They were men of low morals and ambitious. Even during the lifetime of Firuz they had proved themselves a curse to the empire. Thus the institution of slavery entailed a heavy loss on the state exchequer and hastened the downfall of the Sultanate.

The administration was feudal and military in nature. There was no inherent administrative unity to connect the different parts of the Empire. The Provincial and Central governments were not well-knit. The Sultans did nothing to introduce such reforms as could lead to the growth of a unified State. The provincial governors were almost independent. The history of Slave Khalji and Tughlaq dynasties is replete with the rebellions of provincial governors. The central authority could enforce obedience among the governors and peoples of the different provinces only so long as it could retain its vigour. As soon as the central authority grew weak, the centrifugal tendencies, so common in the history of India, made headway, and a number of indepandent kingdoms arose.

The opposition of the Hindus was another cause for the break-up of the Sultanate. They were not willing to accept the Muslim rule. Although some of the Sultans raised capable Hindu officers to high posts and positions yet the majority Hindu could not think the Delhi Government as their own. The intrusion of Islam was much resented by the Hindus. The resentment was intensiflied by the intolerance of some of the Sultans. The Hindus in general and their cheifs in particular induced rebellions and crcated disturbances in the Empire whenever there was opportunity.

Besides, the Muslim Amirs, who had come from Turkistan and Central Asia, lost their martial spirit. Wealth and luxury brought on the attendant evils of debauchery and corruption. "A hardy race of conquerors

had become a squabbling crowd, josting each other for the luxuries of the throne, but wanting the power to to hold the sceptre."

The Mongol raids in the 13th and 14th centuries constituted a great menace to the peace of India. For the most part they remained massed on the Indus, and raided frequently into the interior, plundering at times even to the gates of Delhi. Baruni tells us that no year passes that they do not come here and plunder the villages. Almost every dynasty was confronted with the danger of the Mongol raids.

The tottering empire received its death-blow at the hands of Timur who raided it in 1398. The anarchy and confusion that followed his terrible raids shattered the empire.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF PROVINCIAL KINGDOMS OF THE NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

During the fifteenth and the greater part of the sixteenth century, India was broken up into a number of independent Hindu and Muslim kingdoms as Bengal, Jaunpur, Malwa, Mewar, Gujrat and Kashmir in Northern India and Bahmani and Vijayanagar in the Deccan. These kingdoms were always at feud with one another, and in kingdoms themselves there were internal factions. Some of the rulers were ambitious and powerful and always trying to extend their dominions at the cost of their neighbours. We can give here only a very brief sketch of the more important of these kingdoms.

Bengal :—

Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad Khalji conquered Bengal in 1198 A. D. Since then Bengal continued to be ruled by governors appointed by the Delhi Sultans. But the distance of the province from Delhi tempted its governors to renounce their allegiance to Delhi, whenever they felt themselves strong enough and the Delhi Sultan comparatively weak. This caused great embarrassment to the Delhi Sultanate. Thus Iltutmish had to enforce his authority to Bengal by putting down the rebellion of the Khalji Maliks, and Balban had to suppress a serious revolt headed by Tughril Khan. Balban appointed his second son, Bughra Khan, as governor of Bengal. Under the descendants of Balban it was virtually independent of the Delhi Government whose control was again asserted only in the time of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq who defeated Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah and divided the province into three parts with their capitals

at Lakhnauti, Satgoan and Sonargoan. Soon after his accession, Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq appointed Qadr Khan to the government of Lakhnauti, Izzuddin Azamul-mulk to that of Satgoan, and released Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah and placed him in Sonargon, and Tatar Khan with the title of Bahram Khan was left in his court as an imperial regent. Bahram killed Ghiyasuddin, when the latter made an attempt to assert independence, and became the governor of Sonargoan. Bahram died in in A. D. 1336, whereupon his armour bearer, Fakhr-uddin, proclamied himself ruler of Sonargoan under the title of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah. Shorty after Alauddin Ali Shah established himself as an independent ruler in West Bengal. Thus for a time Bengal was split up into two parts. Ultimately about 1345 Illyas Shah, foster brother of Alauddin Ali Shah made himself master of the entire province and thus became the first independent ruler of the whole of Bengal. He assumed the title of *Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah.*

Ilyas Shah was a vigorous and successful ruler. Soon after his accession he extended his power in different directions. He exacted tribute from the king-doms of Orissa and Tirhut and advanced as far as Benaras. Firuz Shah Tughlaq sent an army to recover Bengal but Iliyas Shah baffled his attempt. He made Gaur his capital and raised some very fine buildings there. He was a good ruler and made his kingdom rich. He constructed a magnificent mosque at Adina. He died in 1357 and was succeeded by his son, *Sikandar Shah*, who was as strong a ruler as his father. Like his father he also foiled Firuz Shah's attempt to recover Bengal. After a prosperous reign of about thirty six years, Sikandar died in 1393 and his son, *Ghiyasuddin Azam*, succeeded him to the throne. He was a able prince, having a profound regard for law. He corresponded

with Hafiz, the great poet of Shiraz, and exchanged embassies with the Emperor of China.

Ghiyasuddin Azam died in 1410 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Saifuddin Hamza Shah. He was not a capable ruler and was overthrown by *Raja Ganesh*, a Brahman zamindar of Bhaturia and Dinajpur, who ruled as an independent king. He abdicated in favour of his son Jadu who embraced Islam and assumed the title of Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah. Raja Ganesh has been identified by Dr. Bhattasali with Danuja-mardan Deva.

The dynasty of Raja Ganesh was short-lived. Jalal-uddin's son, Shamsuddin Ahmad's tyranny outraged the nobles who put him to death and restord the old line in the person of Nasiruddin, a grandson of Ilyas in 1442 A. D.. He ruled for about seventeen years. He proved to be a man of ability. He errected some fine buildings at Gaur.

He was succeeded by his son Ruknuddin Barbak Shah who ruler from 1460-61. According to Ghulam Husain Salim, Barbak 'was a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign." He began the practice of maintaining a large number of Abyssinian slaves and raised some of them to high offices. They became very powerful and proved a menace to the throne. Barbak died in A. D. 1474, and was succeeded by his son, Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah, who reigned till 1481. His son Sikandar II, became king after him, but the new ruler, being found to be of defective intellect, was deposed. The last ruler of the line of Ilyas, Fath Shah, a son of Nasiruddin, sought to check the influence of Abyssinian slaves. Thereupon the Abyssinians formed a conspiracy against him under the leadership of one Barbak who murdered Fath Shah and usurped the throne. Shortly after, Barbak was murdered. The Abyssinian rule lasted for about fifteen years. In 1493, the nobles rose again and

expelled the Abyssinians, calling Alauddin Husain, an able minister of the state, to the throne.

Thus **Hosain Shah** was called to the throne by the people and he fully justified their confidence. His rule was wise and enlightened. He restored peace and order by expelling the Abyssinians who menaced the security of the throne. Husain Shah conquered Orissa and Bihar and Cooch Bihar in Assam. He thus made Bengal a large kingdom and ruled for twenty five years (1493-1518) to the satisfaction of everybody and the great good of the land. He treated the Hindus with kindness and was a patron of Bengali language and literature. He died in 1518 and was succeeded by his eldest son. Nasib Khan, who assumed the title of Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah.

Like his father Nasrat was a generous and enlightened ruler. He conquered Tirhut. It was during his reign that the Portuguese made their first appearance in Bengal. They were chastised by the Sultan for their arrogance and so they burnt Chittagong in retaliation. Nasrat like his father patronised Bengali literature and caused a Bengali version of the Mahabharata to be prepared. He was also a lover of architecture. He beautified Gaur with two noble mosques known as *Bara Sona Masjid* (Large golden mosque) and *Kadam Rasul.* He died in 1533.

The last ruler of the line of Husain Shah was Ghyiasuddin Mahmud whom Sher Shah defeated in 1538. Bengal was for a time ruler by Sher Shah and his descendants. These latter were, however, expelled by *Sulaiman Karani* who established a new Afghan dynasty. Sulaiman ruled by recognising the suzerainty of Akbar though practically he was independent. The next ruler was Sulaiman's son, *Daud Khan,* who defied Akbar and lost his life and kingdom (1576). On his death Bengal became a province of the Mughal empire,

The ruins of Gaur contain many noble buildings erected by the Sultans of Bengal. The most noteworthy of them are the tomb of Husain Shah and the Lesser Golden Mosque built in his reign, as well as the Great Golden Mosque and the Kadam Rasul built by Nasrat Shah. The Adina Mosque at Pandua was built in 1368 by Sikander Shah.

The Sultans of Bengal encouraged Bengali literature and it was under their patronage that many Sanskrit works were translated into Bengali. Kirttivasa produced a Bengali version of the *Ramayana*; Maladhar Basu translated the *Bhagavata* into Bengali. Husain Shah's general, Paragal Khan, caused a translation of the *Mahabharata* to be made by Kabindra Paramesvara, while another Bengali translation of the same epic apperaed under the patronage of Nasrat Shah. It was the support and patronage of the Muslim Sultans that secured wide recognition and caused flourish of Bengali literature.

Jaunpur :—

The Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur was founded by Khwaja Jahan, the governor of the region, after the death of Firuz Tughlaq. He and his descendants aimed to make their people prosperous and happy and succeeded in doing so. The ablest ruler of this dynasty was Ibrahim Shah Sharqi who ruled for thirty four years. He made Jaunpur an important centre of learning. He filled the place with so many learned men that it came to be known as the "Shiraz of India." He adorned the city by constructing many beautiful buildings and one of them, the Masjid Atala, which was built out of money given by Atala Devi, a Hindu lady of rank, stands to this day as a brilliant specimen of the Jaunpur style of architecture.

Next famous king of this dynasty was Husian Shah

Sharqi who came to the throne in 1456. Soon after his accession, Husian Shah made a pact with Sultan Bahlul Lodi. Finding himself safe from the west, he led his forces into Tirhut and Orissa. In 1466, he attacked Raja Man Singh of Gawalior and humbled the proud Rajputs. The Raja paid him a large sum of money in return for safety. Husain Shah then made a mistake. He quarrelled with Bahlul Lodi. In the clash that followed Husain Shah lost his kingdom. "The period of Sharqi rule at Jaunpur, extending for about eighty five years, was marked by prosperity, development of architecture, and an outburst of a high type of culture."

Malwa :—

Malwa was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate by Alauddin Khalji in A. D. 1305. Thenceforth it was ruled from Delhi through provincial governors. Dilawar Khan, a descendant of Muhammad Ghuri, who had been appointed governor of Malwa by Firuz Tughlaq, made himself independent of Delhi Sultanate as soon as Firuz died. He reigned for four years under the title of Sultan Saibuddin Ghuri. He was succeeded by his ambitious son, Alp Khan, who was the most famous ruler of this line.

Alp Khan took the title of Hushang Shah, led an adventurous life and had many exploits to his credit. His surprise attack on the Raja of Orissa was famous. He captured Kherla and carried off its Raja as prisoner. He fought with every body, even with the Sultan of Delhi and the king of Gujarat. But most of his campaigns resulted in defeats and disasters for him. His reign lasted till 1435. He was succeeded by his son Ghazni Khan under the title of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shah was a worthless debauchee who after a reign of four years was overthrown by

his own minister, Mahmud Khan, who founded the Khalji dynasty of Malwa.

Mahmud Khan was the ablest and most powerful of the kings of Malwa and he raised his kingdom to its greatest strength. He fought against Ahmad Shah I of Gujarat, Muhammad Shah of Delhi, Muhammad Shah III of Bahmani. His war with the Raja of Mewar was famous. It was a long drawnout war, and at its end both rulers claimed victory and erected towers of victory in their capitals to commemorate the event, Raja Kumba of Mewar built the "Tower of Victory" at Chitor and Mahmud Khan built a seven-storeyed Minar in his capital Mandu. He extended his kingdom and ruled wisely. He proved himself very efficient administrator and the kingdom progressed under him. He ruled for thirty-four years and was respected widely for his ability in peace and war. In the words of *Frishta*, "Sultan Mahmud was polite, brave, just and learned, and during his reign, his subjects, Muslims as well as the Hindus, were happy and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other." He died in 1469, at the age of sixty-eight.

Mahmud was succeeded by his eldest son, Ghiyasuddin who reigned from 1469 to 1501. Being a good Muslim, Ghiyas was a great lover of peace. His last days were unhappy due to quarrels between his two sons Nasiruddin and Alauddin and the former seized the throne by poisoning his father. Nasiruddin proved to be a cruel tyrant and occupied his illgotten throne till 1512 when he was succeeded by Mahmud II. During Mahmud's reign the Rajput influence became predominant in Malwa, and the powerful Rajput chief of Chanderi, named Medini Rai, became all-powerful in the State. This excited the jealousy of the nobles of Malwa, who removed the Rajput minister. But Medini Rai inflicted a signal defeat on Mahmud with the help of

Rana Sanga of Chitor. Mahmud was, however, restored to his kingdom. He next quarrelled with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat but was defeated and killed and the independence of Malwa was thus extinguished.

Gujarat :—

Alauddin Khalji conquered Gujarat in 1297 and it remained a part of the Delhi Empire till 1391. The governor at that time was Zafar Khan (son of a Rajput convert) who gradually cut off his relations with the centre, and became independent in 1401. He assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah. He reigned till 1411 and was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad Shah. Ahmed Shah has been justly regarded as the real founder of the independence of Gujarat. He was a great warrior who never suffered a defeat in the course of his long warfare with the Sultan of Malwa, and the chiefs of Asirgarh, Rajputana and other neighbouring territories. He was a good administrator. He founded the city of Ahmadabad. He made no distinction of caste and creed, high and low, and was famous for his justice. In his time Gujarat became a centre of industry and commerce. He, after a long reign of thirty years, died in 1442.

The greatest ruler of the line was Mahmud Beghara. The contemporary chronicler observes that "he added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarat, and was the best of all the Gujarat kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him ; and whether for abounding justice and generosity ··· for the diffusion of the laws of Islam and of Mussalmans, for soundness in judgement, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age ; for valour and victory, he was a pattern of excellence." He was a terror to his enemies and never gave up an enterprise, nor did he ever lose a battle. He put

down piracy at sea and captured famous ports of Junagarh and Champanir. His territories were bounded on the west by the Arabian Sea, on the south by Khandesh, on the east by Mandu, and on the north by Jalor and Nagpur in Rajputana. Under him the kingdom of Gujarat thus reached its highest extent. His most importent work lay in his fight with the Portuguese. He entered into an alliance with Qansauh-al-Ghauri, the Sultan of Egypt and, with the help of a naval force the Sultan sent him, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Portuguese in the harbour of Choul in 1508. But soon (1509) the Portuguese defeated the Muslim fleet, and Mahmud made a treaty with them by offering them Diu in Kathiawar to build a factory. Mahmud died in 1511. A fearless, capable, wise, just and warlike monarch, he had a forceful personality and was kown even in Europe.

Beghara was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Shah II. He waged successful wars against Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar. Muzaffar died in 1526 and was followed by too short and insignificant reign of his son. The next king was Bahadur Shah. He reigned from 1526 to 1537. Bahadur inherited his grand father's warlike disposition and ability. Bahadur Shah also faught with the Portuguese and refused to let them build a factory at Diu. He conquered the Rajput strong holds of Jhalanand, Bhilsa and Chanderi. He stormed the fortress of Chitor but fortune, however, went against him in his wars with Humayun. Humayun invaded his kingdom, defeated him and annexed Gujarat. But on the withdrawal of the Delhi troops, Bahadur regained his lost dominion. He was later treacherously murdered by the Portuguese. Akbar conquered Gujarat from its last ruler, Muzaffar Shaḥ III in 1573.

Kashmir :—

The Muslim kingdom of Kashmir was founded by Shah Mirza, a nobleman of the Frontier Province, who took service with the Hindu Raja of Kashmir in 1315. He soon rose to a very high position and, when the Raja died in 1331, he assumed the title of king. He ruled with moderation till 1349. This dynasty had produced two famous kings, Sikandar and Zainul-Abidin. Sikandar was a great patron of learning. He welcomed scholars and Ulema who had fled from Central Asia because of Timur's high-handedness. His successor, Zainul-Abidin, was well-educated and very liberal. He granted complete religious freedom to all. He proved himself to be an able and enlightened ruler. He repressed crimes, lightened the burden of taxation and undertook many beneficial public works. He abolished the Jizya which his father had imposed. He introduced the Panchayat system in villages, made the roads safe from thieves. His justice was known far and wide. He was a patron of literature, painting and music. Under his initiative. the *Mahabharata* and the *Rajatarangini* were translated from Sanskrit into Persian, and several Arabic and Persian books were translated into Sanskrit. He died in 1470, after a long reign of fifty years. The history of the later Sultans of Kashmir is uninteresting. It was annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1540.

The Bahmani Kingdom (1347-1526) :—

A principal minor kingdom which left the greatest mark on the history of South India was Bahmani kingdom. In 1347, during the reign of Muhammad-bin Tughlaq, an Afghan officer named Hasan, and surnamed Gangu Bahmani, who claimed descent from an ancient Persian king of Bahman, set up an independent kingdom with its capital at Gulbarga. The story

narrated by Firista that Hasan was originally a servant of a Brahman astrologer named Gangu and that he assumed the name of Bahmani out of gratitude for his former Brahman master, finds no corroboration in the accounts of later historians including Dr. Smith.

The Bahmani kingdom lasted for about one and a half centuries, and once it stretched from sea to sea, and included a large part of the present Bombay Presidency and the State of Hyderabad.

The first ruler, Alauddin Hasan, who assumed the title of Abu Mazaffar Alauddin Bahman Shah, was a good organiser. His kingdom stretched from Berar in the north to the Krishna river in the south, touched the kingdom of Warangal on the east, and on the west it reached to the sea and included the ports of Goa and Dabhol. He divided his kingdom into four provinces, Gulbarga Daulatabad, Berar and Bidar, each with its governor. He was a just king and the cherisher of his people and pious. During his reign his subjects and the army used to pass their time in perfect ease and content.

He was succeeded by his eldest son *Muhammad Shah I* who ruled till (1373). Muhammad Shah organised the different branches of government and improved the administratian. He appointed eight ministers of state in eight departments. He compelled Warangal to tributary submission. Muhammad Shah I was succeeded by his son Mujahid Shah who soon fell a victim to a conspiracy organised by his uncle Daud Khan, and, during the confusion which followed his death, Daud Khan was paid back in his own coin. The nobles and military officers then raised Muhammad Shah 1I, a grand son of Alauddin Bahman Shah. Muhammad Shah II, who reigned till 1397, was a pacific ruler, and during his reign the peace between the Deccan and Vijayanagar was not broken. He built

mosques, established free schools, and invited men of learning from all parts of Asia to his court. He was succeeded by Firuz, a grandson of Alauddin Bahman Shah who styled himself as Tajuddin Firuz Shah.

Sultan *Firuz Shah* (A. D. 1397—1422) was a gallant general. The author of BurhaniMaasir tells us that Firuz "was an impetuous and a mighty monarch, and expended all his ability and energy in eradicating and destroying tyranny and heresy, and took much pleasure in the society of the Shaiks, learned men and hermits". His chief preoccupation was to wage wars against the kings of Vijayanagar and other rulers of the Deccan. He twice defeated the armies of Vijayanagar and compelled its ruler to pay tribute. But towards the close of his reign Vijayanagar denounced his suzerainty. Firuz was a lover of buildings and he beautified his capital with splendid edifices. He was succeeded by his brother *Ahmad Shah* (1422—1435). The two chief events of his reign were the conquest of Warangal and the removal of the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar.

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son, *Alauddin II* (A. D. 1435—1457). Alauddin has been mentioned by Frishta in very glowing terms. He carried on the traditional war against Vijayanagar and extorted from its Raja favourable terms of peace. He was, however, more noteworthy for his interest in education, in building mosques, schools and orphanages. He also built a great hospital at Bidar. He prohibited the drinking of alcohal in his realm. During his reign the homogeneity of the Bahmani kingdom was much impaired by the quarrel between the two rival sects *viz.*, the natives or the Deccanee Mussalmans who were mostly Sunnis and the foreigners composed of Turks, Persians and Mughals who were mostly Shias.

The next Sultan was Alauddin's son *Humayun* (A.D. 1457—1461). He was so cruel that a party attempted

to enthrone one of his younger brothers, Hasan; but Humayun fought his way into the palace and seized the throne imprisoning Hasan. For his atrocities Humayun got the epithet of "Zalim" or the Tyrant". The famous Khwaja Mahmud Gawan was his Minister. Humayun was succeeded by his infant son Nizam Shah. The Hindus of Orissa and Telingana then invaded the kingdom, but they were driven back with heavy losses. The youthful Nizam Shah was succeeded by his brother Muhammad III.

Muhammad Shah III (A. D. 1463—1482) was a minor when he ascended the throne, but he was fortunate to have a very able minister, namely, **Mahmud Gawan**, a persian of a noble family, who was as unselfish as he was learned, able and modest. He came to India as a merchant and, by his honesty and ability, made himself the most influential man in the Bahmani kingdom. Mahmud Gawan served the Bahmani kingdom as minister for three successive reigns with honesty and efficiency. He enlarged the Bahmani kingdom to an extent never achieved before. He took the strong fortress of Belgaum and several others forts of the Konkan. He recovered Goa and conquered Rajamundry, Kondapalli and Kanchi. Thus under Muhammad Shah III the Bahmani kingdom reached its highest glory and extent.

But all these brilliant achievments of Muhammad Shah's reign were marred by a fatal mistake. Mahmud Gawan being a foreigner was hated by the Deccanee faction. The Deccanees by means of a forged letter convinced the Sultan of Gawan's treasonable intention and procured his assassination (1481). With the murder of Mahmud Gawan, remarks Meadows Tylor, "departed all the cohesion and power of the Bahmani kingdom."

Mahmud Gawan was a remarkable man in every way; a great general, scholar, statesman and adminis-

trator. He carried the whole government of the kingdom on his shoulders, looked personally into every department and worked extremely hard. When he commanded an army he never lost a battle, and the treasures he collected in his campaign was incalculable. In many respects, Mahmud Gawan's character was far superior to that of his contemporaries. He reformed the revenue system, based upon survey and assessment. He also reformed army and judiciary. He was also a great lover of learning. He built at Bidar a big college and library. Mahmud Gawan was thus one of the greatest figures in the history of Southern India. Muhammad Shah discovered his mistake too late: he was overwhelmed with remorse, and drank himself to death.

Decline of the Bahmani Kingdom. On Muhammad Shah's death his son Mahmud, a boy of twelve, was enthroned by Malik Naib. Mahmud was never king but in name, being always under the influence of his dominant ministers. The provincial Governors took advantage of his weakness and carved out independent principalities for themselves. The kingdom thus began to break up, and only a small area round Bidar remained under the nominal control of Mahmud. After his death four weak Sultans reigned Bidar till 1526. When the last Bahmani king Kalimullah fled to Bijapur in 1525, his powerful minister, Amir Barid, founded the Barid Shahi dynasty.

The history of the Bahmani dynasty in the language of Dr. R. C. Mazumder offers no pleasant reading. The Bahmani dynasty comprised eighteen Sultans, most of whom were weak and worthless. Among the Sultans, five were murdered, two died of intemperance, and three were deposed, two of them being blinded. Most of the Bahmani Sultans engaged themselves chiefly in savage warfares, and its internal politics were severely

distracted by court intrigues and civil strife. Factional fights between the Deccanees and the foreigners became matters of daily occurrence and later kings became puppets in their hands. The Bahmani Sultans should, however, be credited with patronage of learning and education, erection of fortresses and buildings, and constructions of irrigation works. Under it a regular system of land-revenue was started. Taxation was heavy. Regarding the state of the people, a Russian merchant named Athanasius Nikitin, who visited Bidar in 1470, says, "The country was populous, the lands well cultivated, the roads safe from robbers and the capital of the kingdom, a magnificient city with parks and promenades. The nobles lived in great magnificience, but the lot of the people in the country was hard and miserable."

The Five Sultanates emerged out of the Bahmani Kingdom :—

Five principalities arose out of the ruins of the Bahmani kingdom. These were the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, the Imad Shahis of Berar, the Barid Shahis of Bidar, and the Qutb Shahis of Golkunda.

The Adil Shahi of Bijapur. This dynasty was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah, the Governor of Bijapur, who revolted in 1489. According to Firishta, he was a son of Sultan Murad II of Turkey. He was a remarkable man, learned, brave and free from religious prejudices. He married a Maratha lady, and was tolerant to Hindus. He introduced Marathi in place of Persian as the official language. He was famous for his justice and integrity and was a patron of artists and learned men. Yusuf Adil Shah waged wars against the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar and his Muslim neighbours but his great achievement was the recovery of Goa from the Portuguese. He was succeeded by his minor

son, Ismail Shah (1510-34). The only important event of his reign was the recovery of the Raichur Doab from Vijayanagar. Ismail was succeeded by his son, Mallu (1534), who proving extremely vicious was set aside in favour of his brother Ibrahim. During his reign, Ram Raja, the minister of Vijayanagar, made an alliance with Golkunda, Bidar and Ahmadnagar in order to make a joint attack on Bijapur which, however, was saved by the ability of Ibrahim Shah's minister, Asad Khan. Ibrahim died in 1557 and was succeeded by his son Ali Adil Shah. He in alliance with Ram Raja of Vijayanagar ravaged the territory of Ahmadnagar. But Ram Raja treated his Muslim allies with such open contempt that all the Muslim Sultans of Deccan made a league against their common rival—the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. The armies met near Talikota in 1565, and the Hindus were completely defeated. Vijaynagar was completely destroyed and the last vestiges of Hindu domination in the South disappeared. Ali Adil Shah died in 1579, and was succeeded by Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1626) was the greatest of all the Sultans of Bijapur. His reign was a peaceful one, and he introduced a system of land settlement similar to that of Akbar's minister Todar Mal. The last great Sultan of Bijapur was Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-56), who maintained a magnificient court. This dynasty lasted till 1636 when it was overthrown by Aurangzeb.

Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Ahmadnagar was founded by an officer named Malik Ahmad (Ahmad Nizam Shah) in 1490. Like the history of Bijapur of the Adil Shahis, that of the Nizam Shahis was full of intrigues and wars with the sister kingdoms, especially with the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar, and of disputed succession. The most celebrated figure in the history of Ahmadnagar

is the gallant princess Chand Bibi, wife of the Bijapur King, Ali Adil Shah. Chand Bibi after her return to her native city, organised the resistance to the Mughal armies under Prince Murad. This valiant lady led her soldiers in person, fighting at their head in full armour In 1600, the 'noble queen' was murdered by her generals who hated the indignity of being ruled over by a woman. The dynasty continued till 1637 when Ahmadnagar became a part of the Mughal Empire.

Kingdom of Golkunda. The Muslim kingdom of Golkunda grew up on the ruins of the Hindu kingdom of Warangal. The founder of this kingdom was Quli Qutb Shah whom Mahmud Gawan had appointed as governor of the eastern province. Quli Qutb Shah had a long and prosperous reign (1512-43). After him, his son Jamshid ascended the throne and reigned for seven years. His successor, Ibrahim, took part in the battle of Talikota. He was an enlightened ruler and was kind towards the Hindus. After his death in 1611, the affairs of Golkunda became entangled with those of the Mughal Emperors. It was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Aurangzeb in 1687.

Kingdom of Berar. The Governor of Berar, Imad Shah, a Hindu convert of the Carnatic, was the first to make himself independent of the Bahmanis and found a new dynasty—the Imad Shahis of Berar (1484). Elichpur was their capital. This dynasty lasted till 1574 when the country was annexed by Ahmadnagar.

Kingdom of Bidar. As the power of the Bahmanis declined, Kasim Barid, a Turkish officer of Mahmud Shah, took for himself the strip of country near the capital and proclaimed independence. The Barid Shahi dynasty lasted for four generations then the kingdom was eventually annexed by Bijapur.

The Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar (1336-1686) :—

Origin. We are not definife about the early history of Vijayanagar. According to tradition, the Empire of Vijayanagar was founded by five sons of Sangama, who were determined to check the advance of the Muslims and the spreed of Islam in southern India. Among the brothers, the two leaders were Harihara and Bukka. According to some scholars, the five brothers were fugitives from Warangal, the capital of which was conquered by the Muslims in 1424. They settled on the bank of the Tunga-bhadra river on which they built the famous city. In the opinion of Father Heras, the Hoysala king Vira Ballala III of Mysore and Harihara, a close relative of the Hoysala ruling family, founded the city of Anegundi on the northern bank of Tungabhadra, and this city of Anegundi was the cradle ot Vijayanagar Empire. Whatever may the origin of Vijayanagar, the significance of the rise of the Vijayanagar kingdom in the history of India is that for about three centuries it stood for the Hindu religion and culture and saved these from being engulfed by the rush of new ideas and forces. Its political history is marked by constant warfare with Bahmani kingdom.

The Sangama Dynasty. The first dynasty of Vijayanagar is named after Sangama, and it lasted upto the year 1486. Harihara and his brother Bukka are generally counted as its first two kings. They never assumed royal titles. Bukka was a good ruler and in 1474, he sent a mission to the Emperor of China. He was succeeded by his son Harihara II (1379-1404) who openly assumed the royal title, and extended his rule over the Trinchinopoly and Conjeeveram districts. He endowed temples and tried to consolidate his vast possessions. He was a peace-loving king. He died in 1404 and was succeeded by his son who

ruled only for a short time. He was succeeded by Deva Raya I who had to fight incessant wars with the Bahmani kingdom. In fact the most important feature of the foreign policy of the rulers of this dynasty was a long struggle against the Bahmani kingdom. He died in 1410 A. D., and after nine years of insignificant rule of his son Vijaya Raya, Deva Ray II ascended the throne in 1419 A. D. He was the greatest ruler of this line. During his reign Vijayanagar territory extended further south. He resumed the wars with Bahmani kingdom and was defeated repeatedly, and ultimately had to submit to the payment of tribute. During Deva Raya II's reign Vijayanagar was visited by two foreigners—one of them was Nicolo Conti, an Italian sojourner, and the other was Abdur Razzaq, an envoy from Persia.

The Saluva Dynasty. Deva Raya II probably died in 1449, and was succeeded by his two sons one after other. But they were too weak to manage the large empire. In 1486 their dynasty came to an end and the throne was usurped by a powerful Saluva Narasimha. This is known as the '*First Usurpation*'. Narasimha Saluva was an able and popular ruler. He conquered the Tamil country and restored order in the country. But Narasimha's power did not last long. Narasa Nayaka, the trusted general of Narasimha, who claimed descent from a dynasty which ruled over Tuluva country, usurped the throne in 1505 A. D. This is known as *Second Usurpation.*

The Tuluva Dynasty. The Second Usurpation led to the establishment of the Tuluva dynasty over the Vijayanagar Empire. Its first ruler was Vira Narasimha, son of Narasa Nayaka. He was succeeded after a short reign by his younger brother, Krishnadeva Raya (1509-30). Krishnadeva Raya was the greatest ruler of this dynasty. Vijayanagar reached the height

of its glory under him. He was one of the most famous kings in the history of ancient India. He was a mighty warrior, and took the fortress of Raichur from the Bijapur king and captured Gulbarga, the old Bahmani capital. He even invaded and plundered Bijapur itself. He understook a successful campaign against his troublesome neighbour, the king of Orissa, captured from him Udayagiri and Kondavidu. His authority was extended as far as South Konkan in the west, Vizagapatam in the east and the southermost point of the peninsula. Probably some islands in the Indian Ocean were within his sphere of influence. The Portuguese traveller Paes, who speaks of him in terms of unreserved praise says : "He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be. He is a great ruler and and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage......he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories.

Krishnadeva Raya was a man of noble character. He was kind and chivalrous to those whom he conquered in battle and was tolerant to all religous sects. He spent vast sums of money in building and endowing temples and monasteries, and was patron of art and literature.

Krishnadeva Raya died in 1529 A. D., and was succeeded by his half brother, Achyuta Raya. When he died about thirteen years later, his place was taken by his nephew, Sadasiva Raya. He was a nominal ruler and the real power rested in the hands of Rama Raya, son of Krishhadeva Raya's minister. Rama Raya was endowed with ability and was determined to restore the power of the Vijayanagar Empire, which had sunk low after the death of Krishnadeva Raya. His policy was to play off one Muslim Sultanate of the Deccan against the other. In 1558, he made an alliance with the Sultan of Bijapur against

Ahmadnagar. The Hindu soldiers behaved in an arrogant and barbarous fashion, and they treated their allies with contempt. So the Sultans of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bidar formed a coalition against Vijayanagar. The battle took place at Talikota (1565) and is indeed one of the decisive battles in the history of India. It sealed the fate of the great Hindu Empire of the South.

The Aravidu Dynasty. After the death of Ram Raja his brother, Tirumala, set up a new capital at Penugunda and exercised sovereignty in Sadasiva's name. In 1570 he deposed the nominal ruler Sadasiva, and usurped the throne. He thus established the Aravidu dynasty. His son and successor Ranga II, was a successful ruler. He was succeeded on the throne by Venkata II (1585-164', who was the most remarkable prince of the dynasty. He removed his headquarter to Chandragiri and maintained the Empire intact. He extended his patronage to poets and learned men. His death was followed by the dismemberment of the Empire. Ranga III was the last notable ruler of the dynasty. He was unable to suppress the disloyalty of the Hindu feudatory chiefs and their mutual dissensions gave opportunities to the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda to garb the greater portion of the Vijaynagar Empire. Portions of it remained in the hands of the subordinate chiefs of Seringapatam and Bednur, and the Naiks of Madura and Tanjore.

Government and Administration of Vijayanagar Kingdom. The government was despotic and the authority of the king in civil, military and judicial matters was unchallenged. Being an autocrat, the king was far beyond any constitutional check. He was assisted by a council composed of ministers, provincial governors, military commanders, men of high castes and society. The kingdom was divided into two hundred provinces,

each governed by a viceroy, who either belonged to the royal family or was a powerful noble of the state. These nobles had to pay half of their revenues to the royal treasury, and supply a certain number of troops.

Punishments for crime were severe. Thieves and robbers were liable to have their hands and feet cut-off, and even noblemen who rebelled were trampled to death by elephants or executed in other barbarous ways. The taxation was very heavy. Each village had its own assembly and formed an autonomous administrative unit. The king maintained a large army. The military department was under the management of the Commander-in-chief (Dandanayaka). Justice was administered in a rough and ready fashion according to the discretion of the authority.

Many travellers, Portuguese and Muslims have left glowing accounts of the city of Vijayanagar. It was surrounded by seven lines of fortifictions and the population was over half a million. The total circumference of the walls was estimated at sixty miles. The great central road connecting the northern and southern gates was eighty miles long. The streets were well laid out and paved, and adorned with splendid private and public buildings, palaces and temples, built of stone. It was supplied with water from a huge reservoir formed by damming the Tungabhadra river. All through the city were gardens, orchards, groves of trees, lakes and channels. The king enjoyed a large income. The wealth of Vijayanagar was due to the precious stones which were found in its mines, its fertile soil and, above all, in overseas trade. Abdur Razzaq, a Persian envoy, who came to Vijayanagar in 1442-48, says : "The country is so well-populated that it is impossible in a reasonable space to convey an idea of it. In the king's treasury there are chambers with excavations in them, filled with molten gold,

forming one mass. All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to artificers of the bazar, wear jewels and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers." Edoardo Barbosa, another traveller, who wss present in India in 1516 A. D , describes Vijayanagar as "of great extent, highly populous and the seat of an active commerce in country diamonds, rubies from Pegu, silks of China and Alexandria, and cinnabar, camphor, musk, pepper and sandal from Malabar."

The kings of Vijayanagar were liberal patrons of art and literature. The reign of Krishnadeva Raya was of special importance in this branch of activity. "Himself a scholar, a musician and poet, he loved to gather around him poets, philosophers, and religious teachers whom he honoured with magnificent gifts of land and money." Eight celebrated poets, collectively known as the "Asta-diggajas" adorned his court. In architecture and sculpture the local artists developed a distinct style and used the most difficult material with success. The famous Hazara temple, built during the reign of Krishnadeva Raya, is one of the most perfect specimens of the Vijayanagar style. Painting and sculpture also reached a high level of excellence.

CHAPTER IX

A. GENETAL SURVEY OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SYSTEM DURING THE DELHI SULTANATE

Political Institutions :—

The Central Govetnment. The form of government under the Delhi Sultanate was an absolute and despotic monarchy. The Sultan was the fountain-head of all governmental powers. The authority of the Sultan was no doubt limited by the Law of the Quran, but Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad Tughlaq made partly successful attempts to free themselves from the Law of Quran and its traditional interpreters. Infact, the Sultan was the pivot of whole political machinery of the central government. As the supreme head of the executive, the Sultan managed the affairs of the State with the help of such officers and ministers as he might choose to select. If the Sultan was strong, these men were "mere secretaries who carried out the royal will in matters of detail ; but they could never influence their master's policy except by the arts of gentle persuasion and veiled warning." If the Sultan was weak, they utilised him as a puppet. The real source of Sultan's authority was military strength. He was the chief commander of forces.

The growth of such autocratic form of government then was due to several factors. The Muslim Sultans had to establish a kingdom in a hostile land like India. They had to be constantly on their guard against the hostility of the Hindu States. Another perennial scurce of danger to Delhi Sultans was the Mongol invasions. Again, the Muslim nobility often engaged in intrigues and rivalries and their ambition was a disruptive force menacing the integrity of the State. The growth of a strong centralised government

with an all-powerful king was, thus, the inevitable result of the prevailing circumstances. It must, however, be remembered that there was at that time no constitution or political organisation as we understand it now-a-days to oppose royal despotism. Even the Ullemas who formed an influential class in the State, lacked the courage to oppose openly the Sultans.

The structure of the central government was as follows: The Sultan was the head of the whole administrative machinery with a regular hierarchy of officers in charge of various departments. He was assisted by his chief minister—Wazir who was the highest officer of the central government. The chief minister also supervised all the Diwans (departments) into which the administration of the central government was divided.

The *Kotwal* was the head of the police department in the town and was the custodian of peace and order. He was assisted by municipal police officers called *Muhtasibs*, whose duties were to keep a strict watch over the conduct of the people, to control the markets and to regulate weights and measures. There was an organised sy stem of espionage and the Sultan kept himself informed of the movements of the people through a large number of spies.

Administration of Justice. Justice was administered by the chief judicial officer called *Qazi-ul-Quzat*. He was assisted by *Mufti* who expounded the law. He used to try and listen to the appeals made to his court from the lower courts of the Qazis. All important towns, including Delhi, had a Qazi for the administration of justice. A high officer called the Amir-i-dad enforced the sentences passed by the Qazi. The penal law was exceedingly severe, mutilation and the penalty of death being inflicted in many cases.

Finance. The Sultans were guided in their fiscal policy mainly by the precepts of the Hanafi School of

Muslim Jurists. The revenue was mainly derived from the following sources : (1) Land revenue, (2) Zakat or religious taxes imposed upon the Muslims, (3) Jizya (4) Spoils of war, (5) Mines and treasure trove, (6) Heirless property. There were also extra cesses or abwabs such as house tax, grazing tax, water tax etc. The incidence of taxation was heavy, specially that of the land tax.

Army. As the real source of authority of the Delhi Sultans was their military strength, so they always maintained a large and efficient standing army. The army, recruited from all nationalities—Turks, Mongols, Persians and Indians, was divided into two chief groups, cavalry and infantry. The cavalry consisted of two kinds of horsemen, those who supplied their own horses and those whom the State supplied. The cavalry formed the backbone of the army. The foot soldiers, called payaks, occupied an inferior position. The usual weapons of a soldier were the arrow, the lance, the sword and the spear. Artillery came to be used effectively in later times. The general administration of all matters connected with the army was entrusted to the Ariz-i-Mamalik.

Provincial Government. For the purpose of administration, the empire was divided into provinces. During the time of Muhammad Tughlaq the empire was divided into following 23 provinces : (1) Delhi (2) Devagiri (3) Multan (4) Kuhram (5) Samana (6) Sewan (7) Uch (8) Hansi (9) Sirsuti (10) Mabar (11) Gujarat (12) Budaun (13) Telang (14) Oudh (15) Kanauj (16) Lakhnauti (17) Bihar (18) Kara (19) Malwa (20) Lahore (21) Kalanor (22) Jajnagar (23) Dorasamudra. As a general rule, the provincial governments also contained departments corresponding to those of the central government.

The head of every provincial government was usually called *Wali* (Governor). He exercised executive, judicial

and military functions in his territory almost as a despot. This office was not hereditary. He was subject to transfer or recall. The Emperor used to control the provincial governments by making tours of inspections. The Walis drew his remuneration from the public revenues of his province and after meeting the cost of his administration he had to remit the rest to the central government. He had to render military aid, at times, to the Sultan.

A province was divided into a number of districts, and a district was sub-divided into towns, and every town had as its dependency a *Sadi*, a collection of hundred villages or Parganas. The governor of a district was called *Amil or Nazim*, that of a town, *the Kotwal or Amir*, and that of a Sadi, Amir-i-Sadah.

Social Condition :—

The Muslim social system was built around the conception of practical brotherhood of Islam. By the end of thirteenth century Islamic ideas of equality and brotherhood no doubt declined in force. Nevertheless their power was not completely extinguished and Muslim society afforded equal opportunities to all. No favour or partiality was shown to any one. Those who were really competent rose to positions of power. Many slaves earned the highest post of Sultanate.

The Muslim nobility exercised a predominant influence in the state and their services were used in various capacities. They were appointed as generals, governors and administrators and they had a large share in determining the succession to the throne. But in the thirteenth century they did act as united and well-organised body like the nobles of France or England. Though the Turks formed the majority in this class, there were in it also Afghans, Egyptians and Arabs. Hence there was no solidarity among them.

They were often engaged in intrigues and rivalries and their ambitions proved a source of troubles and danger to the empire. The Ullemas also played an important part in the social history of the Sultanate period. But they lacked the courage to stand against the Sultans when such stand was demanded by circumstance.

The pomp and magnificence of the court was fully maintained. Though the general standard of social life was high, being marked by charity and other virtues, there were a few vices connected with the passion for wine and women. Musicians, athlets and story-tellers were patronised by the Sultans. Slavery was common and some of the slaves rose to political and social eminence by dint of their merit and ability. As wealth increased in Muslim society, the degeneration of the general character started. Wealth and luxury brought on the attendants evils of debauchery and corruption. The liberty of women was no doubt restricted but they enjoyed a respectable position in the society. Purdah system became elaborate, both among the Hindus and the Muslims. Some of the upper class ladies cultivated arts and sciences. Early marriage and the practice of Sati was widely prevelent then among the Hindus.

The position of the Hindus. No account of the social history of the Delhi Sultanate is complete without a reference to the condition of the Hindus who formed the vast majority of the population. It has been often pointed out that the condition of the Hindus does not appear to have been happy under the Sultanate. Their religion was systematically insulted and their wealth frequently preyed upon. It is true that various measures were taken against the Hindus, but these were not on religious ground but to bring rebellions to obedience and submission. "It was really as political malcontents

and not as 'dissenters' or 'recusants' that the Hindus were harassed, if at all, and as such even Mussalmans were not spared."—remarks Dr. Agha Mahdi Husain. They were allowed complete freedom of religion. They openly preached their doctrines and this is clearly evident for the development of Bhakti cult. The Hindus of course had to pay *Jizya*—a military tax levied on non-Muslims in lieu of military service.

Dr. Smith is of opinion that the Hindus were excluded from all offices by the Sultans of Delhi. This, however, cannot be readily accepted in view of the contemporary evidence to the contrary. Far from being excluded from office or neglected the Hindus constituted an important factor in the politics of Delhi. Their services were utilised especially in ministerial works such as assessors and collectors of revenue. The Hindus controlled the local administration. Ibn Batuta tells us that during the time of Muhammad Tughlaq, a Hindu by name, Ratan, was raised to the office of a provincial Governor. According to Baruni, another Hindu named Dhara Dhar was appointed Naib Vazir of Deogir and head of the *Dewan-i-Uslab* during the time of the same ruler. Moreover, the Muslims did not bring with them from beyond the Indian frontiers artisans, accountant and clerks. Their buildings were erected by the Hindus, and their coins were struck by Hindu goldsmiths, and their accounts were kept by Hindu officers. Brahman legalists advised the king on the administration of Hindu Law and Brahman astronomers helped in the performance of their general functions. * In culture, the same spirit of toleration was marked towards the Hindus. The art of architecture, language and literature, music and paintings, and tradition and philosophy of the Hindus, were allowed to develop side by side with those of Muslims.

* Dr. Tarachand's Influence of Islam on Indian culture.

Economic Condition :—

The economic condition of India was then on the whole prosperous. This is testified to even by many foreign travellers who visited India during the period. Most of them speak of large and prospersous towns and all of them concur in giving the impression of a prosperous country.

Agriculture formed the main occupation of the people. For its improvement irrigation facilities were provided. Marco Polo spoke of extensive cotton cultivation. Peper ginger and indigo were produced in large quantities. The state encouraged various industries such as textile industry, the dyeing industry and calico-painting, sugar industry, metal-work, stone and brick work and the paper industry. Besides these, other minor industries such as cup-making. shoe-making, making of arms, manufacture of scents, spirits and liquors also flourished. The state has had its own industries to meet the royal need. Trade was carried on with foreign countries. Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta spoke of flourishing foreign trade at Broach and Calicut. Merchants from all parts of the world came there to buy goods. Marco Polo described Bengal as a rich and fertile province while Wassaf described Gujarat as a rich and populous country. Bengal and Gujarat were specially renowned for the manufacture and export of textile goods. The excellence of Bengal goods has been highly praised by Amir Khusru and many foreign travellers. Barthema considered Bengal to be "the richest country in the world for cotton, ginger, sugar, grain and flesh of every kind." The prices of all commodities were very low. "Eight dirhams were sufficient for the annual expenses of a family of three."

Although the country was rich there was no equitable adjustment of its economic wealth. The standard of living of peasantry was not high, while the ruling

and the official classes rolled in luxury and wealth. The Russian traveller, Athanasius Nikitin, who visited India in 1470, testified their views. The extortionate demands of rulers like Alauddin Khalji and Muhammad bin Tughlaq reduced the peasants to abject misery. The reforms of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, however, improved the condition of the peasantry.

Art and Architecture :—

The Sultans of Delhi introduced into India several new styles of architecture, based primarily on the models of buildings at Mecca, Damascus, and other cities of the Muslim world. It is erroneous and misleading to describe the architect of the period as "Indo-Saracenic or "Pathan", as Fergusson has described. It is equally difficult to accept the views of Havell who maintains that this kind of architecture is Indian in "soul and body." The architecture of this period is in fact essentially a blending of Indian and Islamic styles. Sir John Marshall observes: "Indo-Islamic art is not merely a local variety of Islamic art," nor is it merely "a modified form of Hindu art··· Broadly speaking, Indo-Islamic architecture derives its character from both sources, though not always in an equal degree." Thus the amalgamation of the two systems gave birth to a new style—Indo- Muslim architecture. "The conditions in which the Muslim art grew up made it necessary that there should be a fusion of the two ideals. Hinduism recommended idolatry while Islam forbade it ; Hinduism favoured decoration and gorgeousness while Islam enjoyed puritanical simplicity. These different ideals, so strangely in contrast with each other, produced by their junction a new kind of art which for the sake of convenience has been called the Indo-Muslim art". *

* Dr. Ishwari Prasad's. A short history of Musilm rule in India.

The Sultans of Delhi were liberal patrons of achitecture. The architecture of the Delhi Sultanate is marked by grandeur of conception and boldness in execution. The buildings are all massive and have a solemn and severe character. The best specimens of the Delhi style are offered by the Qutb group of mosques, the most famous of which is the *Qutb Minar*. Other notable buildings of this period are *Hauz-i-Shamsi* and the *Shamsi Idgah* built by Iltutmish during his governorship at Badaun (1203—9) and the *Jam-i-Masjid* which was built in 1223. Alauddin Khalji was a great builder. He took great interest in the construction of forts, tanks and palaces. The fort of Siri and the palace of *Hazar Sltum* or thousand pillars were built by Alauddin. The other principal monuments of Alauddin's reign were *Jama'at Khana Masjid* at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Auliya and the *Alai Darwaza at the Qutb Minar*. The latter one is one of the most treasured gem of Islamic architecture. The buildings of the Tughlaq period are prosaic, simple, austere and formal and this was due to the religious ideas of the Tughlaq kings. Firuz was a zealous builder of towns and mosques. He was founder of towns like Jaunpur, Firuzabad and Fatehabad. Many mosques, monasteries and inns were built by him.

Many provincial rulers were also patrons of art, and some of the provinces developed distinctive styles of architecture. In Bengal the ruins of Gaur and Pandua still excite our admiration. The *Adina Masjid* at Pandua, built by Sikandar Shah in 1368 A. D., is renowned for its magnitude and beauty. The other famous mosques of this province are the *Chhota Sona Masjid* built during the reign of Husain Shah; the *Bara Sona Masjid*, completed by Nusrat Shah; and the *Qadam Rasul*, built by the same Sultan. The *Dakhil Darwaza* at Gaur is 'a superb example of what can be

achieved in brick and terracotta.' The province of Gujarat also witnessed the growth of a beautiful style of architecture. The Jami Masjid of Ahmad Shah at Abmadnagar, and Mahmud Begarha's great mosque at Champaner, were among the most remarkable structures of Muslim world. Gujarat is famous for its step-wells ; irrigation works, and public orchards. Mandu was equally famous for its buildings in the fifteenth century. According to Marshall, "Mandu is of all fortress cities of India the most magnificent." Some of the most remarkable buildings are the Jami Masjid, the Hindola Mahal, the tomb of Hushang Shah, and the palaces of Baz Bahadur and Rupmati. Jaunpur was another centre of architectural development in Northern India. The Atala Masjid is the finest example of the Jaunpur style. In the Deccan, the architecture of the Bahmanids was a composite mixture of several etements—Indian, Turkish, Egyptian and Persian. The mosques at Gulburga and Bidar are noble specimens of Deccan art. Some of the important buildings constructed by them are the JamiMasjid at Gulburga, the Chand-Minar at Daulatabad and the college of Mahmud Gawan. But the Bahmanids are famous in history for their fortresses, the chief of which are those of Gwaligarh, Narvala and Mahur in the Adilabad district.

Literature :—

The Sultans and nobles of Delhi were great patrons of learning, and Persian literature flourished remarkably under their patronage. Many of them had the gift of appreciating the refinements of Arabic and Persian literature and loved to have learned men at their courts. *Amir Khusru*, the poet laureate of the empire under the Khaljis and Tughlaqs, was the greatest poet of the time. He was a prolific writer, whose genius unfolded itself in poetry, prose and music. He was

the court-poet of Alauddin Khalji. He also enjoyed the patronage of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, under whose request he composed the Tughlaq Nama. Tradition ascribes to Amir Khusru the composition of as many as ninetynine works. He continued to enjoy royal patronage till his death in 1325 A. D. Another eminent Indo-Persian poet, *Mir Hasan Dehlvi*, was a contemporary of Amir Khusru. His compositions are described as musical and most pleasing. Baruni tells us that "the Alauddin's reign saw the multitude of great men of all nationalities, masters of every science and experts in every art. The capital of Delhi, by the presence of these unrivalled men of great talents, had become the enemy of Baghdad, the rival of Cairo, and the equal of Constantinople." Muhammad Tughlaq was a finished scholar with a good knowledge of Persian poetry, Greek Philosophy, Mathematics and Medicine. Firuz Shah, himself the author of Fatuha-i-Firuz Shahi, showed great interest in the cause of education. Most of the rulers of the Bahmani kingdom and other independent Muslim dynasties were also patron of letters.

Several valuable historical books were composed in Persian during this age. Minhajuddin's *Tabagat-i-Nasiri*, is a general history of the Islamic world. Amir Khusru wrote *Tarikh-i-Alai*, an account of the reign of Alauddin Khalji. The greatest historian of this period was Zaiuddin Baruni, a contempory of Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Baruni's work, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, is an important chronological account of the reigns of the Sultans of Delhi. Two other important historical works of the time are the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif'* and the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahiya bin Ahmad Sarhindi.

The literary activities of the Hindus did not fail to survive their political decline. Great scholars like Ramanuja, Partha Sarathi Misra, Deva Suri, Jiva

Goswami, contributed many valuable Sanskrit works on religion, philosophy, and law. The Muslim scholars were not unacquinted with Sanskrit. Many Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. When Firuz Shah Tughlaq captured the fort of Nagarkot, he ordered a work on philosophy to be translated into Persian and named it "Dalayal-i- Firuz Shahi."

CHAPTER X

THE IMPACT OF ISLAM ON HINDUS AND INFLUENCE OF SUFISM IN INDIA

"Cultural contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims existed long before the Turkish invaders entered upon the scene. Mystics, traders and travellers from Muslim lands undertook a peaceful penetration of the country, for the spirit of travel and missionary zeal was widely diffused among the Muslims." Muslim colonies were found in every large town long before the invasion of Mahmud Ghazni. The Muslims who came into India made it their home. They lived surrounded by the Hindu people. Mutual intercourse led to mutual understanding. Many accepted Islam. This was largely due to the missionary efforts of the Muslim mystics and the propaganda carried on by Khwaja Muinuddin Chishti and his predecessors like Ali Hajwiri, who had peacefully made the Muslims a community of the soil long before it was subdued by the Ghurids.

Influence of Islam and Muslim Rule in India :—

The advent of Islam in India wrought great changes in the religious and social outlook of the people. In this period the power of the Brahmins was oppressive. The rules of caste became more and more stringent as Kulinism was stereotyped. The lower strate of society groaned under the autocracy of the higher. Islam was a stranger to all this. It fulfilled in India its humanitarian and liberating mission by offering within its fold complete equality and an opportunity for material and spiritual development to millions who were leading a sub-human existence.

The Muslims made India their home and so were compelled to maintain a certain degree of intercourse

with the native population. Hindusim failed to absorb the Muslims as it had absorbed the Greeks, Huns, Scythians and Sakas who became completely merged in the native population. The Muslims came with a clear, definite faith and a social system which was built around the Quranic conception of God and the practical brotherhood of Islam. It gave a death blow to the caste system and inequality to Hinduism. It was no doubt a great loss to the privileged class of the Hindu society.

Islam thus held out a new hope of progress and social justice to the low-caste Hindus who were inclined to regard it without feelings of aversion or contempt. Then, there was the influence of Muslim saints whose teachings appealed to all men without distinction of caste and creed.

The Muslim conquest of Indo-Pakistan proved to be of great importance in the political, social, cultural and religious history of the country. This sub-continent always lacked political unity. No doubt even from the earliest times the political aspiration of unifying India acted and re-acted upon the people's mind but they failed to achieve anything. Credit should go to the Muslims because they were successful in establishing the practical union of the whole country, however unstablising that might be. They created an imperial system of uniform rule and administration.

In the field of culture and civilization the Muslim conquests caused great changes. Whenever two civilizations come into close contact with each other for centuries, both are bound to be influenced mutually. Thus, through the free mixing, the Hindu and the Muslim communities came to imbibe each other's thoughts and customs. Thus mutual assimilation of two cultures had especially progressed in different aspects of life—arts and crafts, music and painting, in the styles of buildings,

in dress and costume, in games and sports. Sir John Marshall has very rightly remarked that "seldom in history of mankind has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive." A new vernacular, Urdu, came into being as a result of the intercourse between the two nations. 'Urdu' originally a camp language, but through the patronage of the Muslim rulers, the historians and poets who lived at the courts, acquired a literary dignity and became, in course of time, the Lingua Franca of India.

Islam not only effected social and cultural life of the Hindus, but also forced religious movements to save Hinduism from onslaught of Islam.

Religious (Bhakti) Movements :—

During this period due to the contact of Hinduism with all the liberalising influences of Islam and its nobler idea of equality and brotherhood of man, the character of Hinduism was materially changed. A new conception of human relationship began to grow in the Hindu society, consequently important religious developments took place. Although the idea of there being One Supreme God behind the countless deities of popular worship was not unknown to the Hindus, the teachings of Islam influenced the educated Hindu opinion and stirred the religious feelings of the more thoughtful. The prominence which Islam gives to the Unity of God and its democratic principles in social and religious matters gave rise to liberal movements led by saintly reformers. The prominent protagonists of

such movements are Ramananda, Kabir, Chaitanya, and Guru Nanak. They began to preach against the rigidty of the caste, and to emphassis the importance of good deeds rather than of births.

Ramananda. A belief began to gain ground in the principle of Bhakti or personal devotion to God. Followers of this school of thought believed that salvation was within the reach of everyone, whatever his caste may be. Ramanuja brought the movement into prominence. He taught that the Supreme Deity is Vishnu who, out of love for humanity, from time to time comes to earth in human incarnations or *avatars* for the salvation of mankind. A teacher named Ramananda in the fourteenth century continued the work of Ramanuja. He preached devotion to the Deity in the form of Vishnu in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, and was particularly anxious to save the souls of the poor and depressed classes. He made no distinction between high caste and low, Hindu and Muslim. He had twelve chosen disciples, among them being a Rajput, a leather worker, a barber and a Muslim weaver. The last of these was the celebrated Kabir.

Kabir. Kabir carried on and extended the work of his master Ramananda by establishing a creed that Hindus and Muslims alike may accept. He attacked with amazing courage the beliefs of orthodox Hindu and Muslim alike. He aimed at uniting all that is best in Hinduism and Islam. He taught that there was one God for all—it mattered not whether he was named Allah or Rama. He was the first leader of the medieval Reformation to make a conscions effort for Hindu-Muslim unity in the sphere of religion. Dr. Carpenter is of opinion that "the whole background of Kabir's thought is Hindu." But Dr. Smith does not agree with this view when he writes "the verses of Kabir show clear traces of Muslim influence,

Here are two typical poems of Kabir :—

O servant, where dost thou seek Me? Lo! I am beside thee: I am neither in temple nor in mosque; I am neither in Ka'aba nor Kailash: Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in Yoga and renunciation.

The Sikh Religion and Nanak. Another great reformer of the time was Guru Nanak. He drew his inspiration from Kabir's teachings and founded the Sikh religion. Nanak, like Kabir, sought to abolish caste distinction and idolatry, and bring together Hindu and Muslim.

Nanak exorted men to give up hypocracy, selfishness, worldiness and falsehood for "all men's accounts shall be taken in God's court and no one shall be saved without good works." He laid stress on love, purity of life and preached that good deeds were more efficacious in securing salvation than metaphysical discussion.

Chaitanya. In Bengal, a great religious revival was started by Chaitanya (1486-1534) who was an ardent devotee of Krishna. Born of a Brahman famiiy in Nadia, he left home and wife at the age of twenty-four and spent the rest of his life in preaching his message of love and devotion. Chaitanya preached against animal sacrifices, eating meat and wine-drinking. He stirred up people's religious emotions by means of processions which marched from place to place singing religious songs and playing on musical instruments. He held that the one essential of salvation was Bhakti, or love of God. By this, he taught that every man, no matter what his caste might be, could purify his life, conquer the desires of the body and win sainthood. His influence on the masses has been wide and profound.

Results. These religious reformers made serious attempts to bring a religious unity between the Hindus and the Muslims, but they were not successful. There is

no evidence to show that Ramananda's teaching served as a step forward towards bridging the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The Muslims had no reasons to accept these creeds because Islam in itself was a clear, definite and perfect faith. And it is a most strange fact that the theology of Kabir was meant to unite Hindus and Muslims in the worship of one God, yet the most implacable hatred arose between the Sikhs and Muslims; and from that harted cause the Khalsa, the Sikh military order, which created the fierest enemies the Mughal emperors had.

It should, however, be noted that these reformers tried to uplift the lower and despised classes who were groaning under the rigours of the Hindu caste-system and gave them a new hope that they would be loved by God provided they could worship Him with Bhakti. Their teachings did much to check the effect of the proselytising zeal of Islam.

But the most important result of this movement was the growth of vernacular literature. These religious reformers preached and wrote in their own vernaculars so that the masses might understand them. Thus while the Hindi and Punjabi literatures were improved by Ramananda and Nanak respectively, the Bengali language was greatly influenced by Chaitanya.

Sufisim and its influence in India :—

Away from the splendour court of Delhi and the provincial capitals, there existed numerous other centres of Muslim cultural and spiritual activity, which, in certain spheres, exercised even greater influence on the courts of kings and their provincial potentates. These were the *Khanqahs* or monasteries of Sufis. Sufisim did not began in India with Akbar as Sri Jadu Nath Sarkar thought, rather Akbar's religious innovations really meant the end of that broad-based and tolerant Sufisim,

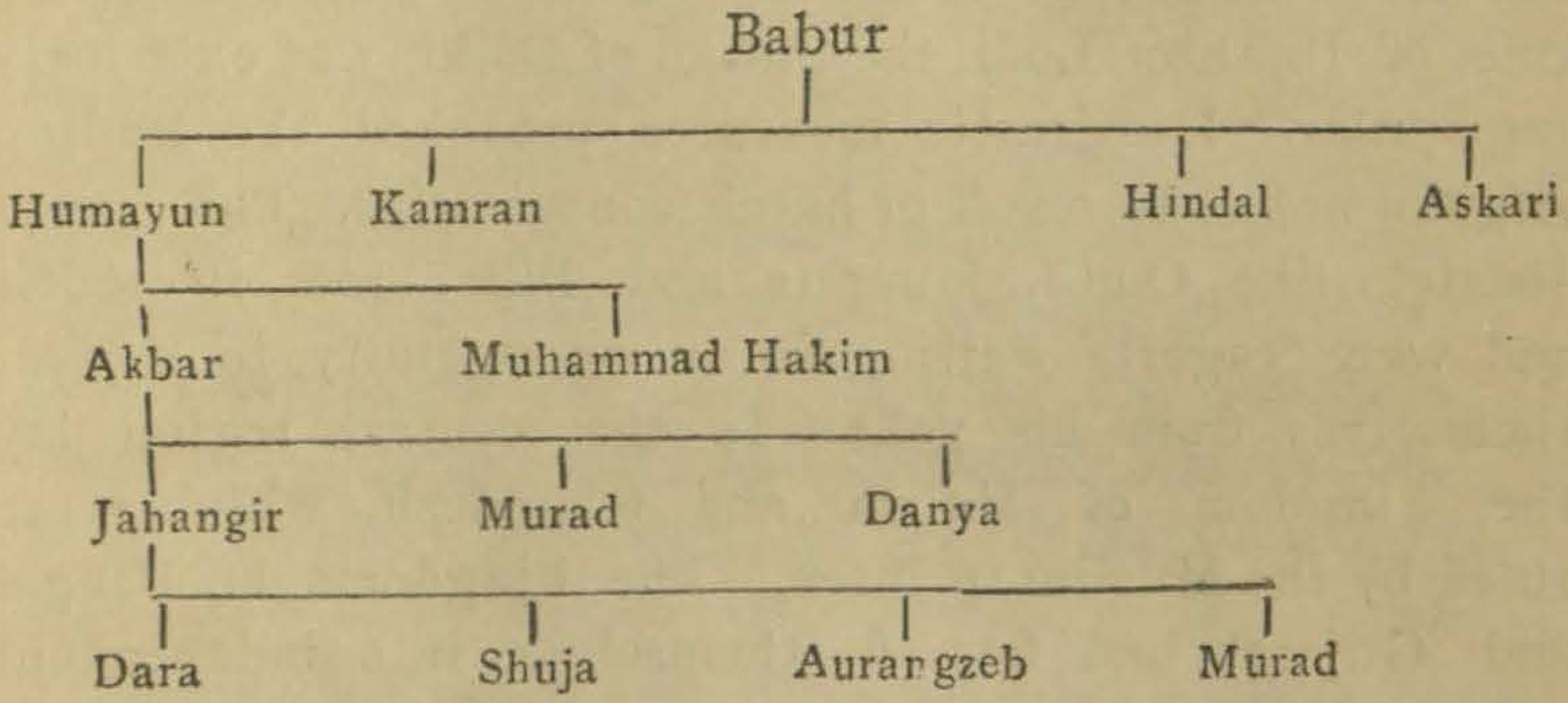
which had dominated Indian Islam for centuries. For centuries Sufis' *Khanqahs* were the principal seats, not only of popular religion but also of popular literature and art. Their contribution to the literary fields is, apart from their spiritual work, the most noteworthy. They played a great part in the development of regional literatures. In fact, the promotion of Sindhi, Punjabi and Pushto literatures was largely the work of Sufis. They also promoted the cause of music. They were also great travellers, and frequently became the media through which ideas passed from one region to another.

In fact the Sufis became the torch bearer of Islam in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. They were mainly responsible for spreading Islam in the Punjab and Bengal and other parts of Indo-Pak sub-continent. The most important Sufis who are known to have assisted in the spread of Islam were: Khaja Muinuddin Chishti (1236 A. D.), Baba Farid (1266), Hazrat Zakaria of Multan (1267), Syed Ali Hamdani of Kashmir (1287), Shah Jalal of Sylhet (1340), Hazrat Nur Outb-i-Alam of Pandua (1415). They established centres from where they spread to different parts of this sub-continent. These saints were men who practised goodwill towards all irrespective of creed and caste. They did not denounce other creeds or vilify their founders but were content to offer spiritual light.

These saints led holy and ascetic lives, and exercised a great influence over the people; even the worldy rulers found it expedient to show respect to them. The Sufis normally kept away from worldly affairs. But there were a few exception. Shah Jalal of Sylhet took part in a war against the then Hindu Raja, Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-Alam organised an army against Raja Ganesh an anti-Muslim zamindar of Dinajpur.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Genealogical Tables of the Great Mughals



CHAPTER XI

BABUR

Condition of India on the Eve of Babur's Invasion:—

By the end of the fifteenth century the whole of Northern India was seething with faction and discontent. There were many Muslim kingdoms in India, of which the Lodi Sultanate of Delhi was the strongest. The rule of Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi, was extremely unpopular. His drastic measures provoked the leading Afghan nobles to revolt or hatch conspiracies. The eastern districts like Oudh, Jaunpur and Bihar rose in revolt and were eagerly waiting for an opportunity to deliver themselves from his yoke. In the central region lay the kingdom of Malwa and Khandesh, which were ruled by the Muslim princes. The kingdoms of Bengal and Gujarat had formed themselves into independent principalities. The Punjab was held by Daulat Khan, who was alarmed at the unbridled tyranny of Ibrahim and invited the assistance of Babur. Even the Sultan's uncle, Alam Khan, fled to Kabul and implored Babur's intervention.

In the Deccan, the Great Bahmani kingdom, after a two-century struggle with Vijayanagar, was divided into five small kingdoms. The Rajputs had silently increased their strength owing to the decline of the power at Delhi and the unending quarrels of the Muslim states of the North. Of the Rajput princes the most famous was the gallant Rana Sanga of Mewar, the leader of the Rajput confederacy. "India was thus a congeries of states at the opening of the sixteenth century and likely to be easy prey of an invader who had the strength and will to attempt her conquest.*" The man who was to accomplish this was Sultan

* Dr. Ishwari Prasad—A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.

Zahiruddin Babur who established the Mughal civilization which flourished in India till the middle of the ninteenth century.

Early life of Babur. Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur was born on Friday, the 24th February, 1483 A. D. His father, Umar Shaikh Mirza, the fifth in descent from the great Timur, was the ruler of Ferghana or Khokand, a small but beautiful country on the upper course of the Jaxartes. He was connected on his mother's side with Chingiz Khan. He was not a Mughal. In his Memoirs 'he calls himself a Turk'. But curiously enough the dynasty he established came to be known as the Mughal dynasty. "Mughal had, in fact, become a generic term for warlike adventurers from Persia on Central Asia, and although Timur and all his line loathed the name, as that of their bitterest foes, it has been their fate to be branded with it, and it now seems to be too late to correct the error.*"

When only eleven years old, Babur lost his father. Babur showed remarkable courage. Babur had an early training, well-fitted to make him a great warrior and ruler. On succeeding to the throne, he at once made plans to recover the empire, in Central Asia, of his great ancestor, Timur. Twice he took possession of Samarkand; but on each occasion he was driven out, and, for a time, even lost the capital of Farghana.

These defeats made Babur a wanderer, as he writes in his Memoir, "moving from square to square like a king on a chessboard." But he never lost courage. At last after many changes of fortune, Babur decided to leave Farghana to seek his fortune elsewhere. With help from the king of Khursan, he boldly crossed the HinduKush and took possession of Kabul and Ghazni in 1504. But Babur once more desired to re-establish his position in Central Asia, as a successor

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* The Cambridge Shorter History of India.

of Timur. Being able to secure the help of Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia against Shaibani Khan, the Uzbeg chief, Babur tried once again to occupy Samarqand, but failed.

Being frustrated in his attempt to retain Samarqand Babur returned Kabul. He now decided to try his fortune in the east. The wealth of India had already tempted his adventurous spirit and fired his imagination. He started brisk military preparation for his Indian campaign. His first Indian invasion was directed against the Yusufzais in 1519. An expedition was also sent against Bajaur in 1520. In 1524, Babur advanced upto Dipalpur which he stormed. But he had to fall back on Lahore and return to Kabul. He depended on the co-operation of Daulat Khan Lodi and Alam Khan, on whose invitation Babur invaded India, but they turned against him when they found that he had no intention to give up Indian conquests. The whole situation was now different. Babur was now fully determined to crush the tottering Afghan kingdom of Delhi. "I placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution," writes Babur, "and my hands on the reins of confidence of God. I marched against Sultan Ibrahim in whose possession the city of Delhi and kingdom of Hindustan at that time were."

First Battle of Panipath (1526) :—

Babur marched from Kabul in November 1525 and the Punjab easily came into his hands. Daulat Khan Lodi was compelled to submit. But the more formidable task was to conquer Delhi which was his main ambition. So he marched directly on Delhi, and at Panipat, that "historic site" where the fate of India has been thrice decided, he came in contact with Ibrahim's great army of 100,000 on the 21st April, 1526. Babur's resources were inadequate for this enterprise but he

had the strength of character and experience of a veteran general. While Ibrahim, as Babur mentioned, "was an inexperienced man, careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight." When, on the morning of the 21st April 1526, the Delhi army advanced to attack, they found the front of the opposing army protected by ditches and hurdles, and havoc was made in their ranks by Babur's guns and match-locks. By noon, hemmed in and attacked on all sides, Delhi army was completely broken, and many thousands were slain, among them was Sultan Ibrahim himself. Thus by superior strategy and generalship Babur won a decisive victory over the Lodi Sultan. "The sun," writes Babur, "had mounted spear-high when the onset began, and the battle lasted until midday, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my men were victorious and triumphant." The first act of Babur after victory was to reward his generals and soldiers with splendid gifts; and to every inhabitant of Kabul, man, woman or child, free or slave, a silver coin was sent as a token of their sovereign's victory.

The victory of Panipat made Babur master of Delhi and Agra, but he was not yet king of Hindustan. The important provinces of Oudh, Jaunpur and Western Bihar had revolted against Ibrahim and had set up independent kingdoms. Similarly Bengal under Nasrat Shah, Gujarat under Sikandar Shah and Malwa under Sultan Mahmud were independent. Besides, he had to reckon with the Rajputs whose leader Rana Sanga dreamt of a Hindu Empire. The people were hostile to the strangers and each town and petty ruler prepared for obstinate resistance. To add to these troubles, there arose a discontent in his army at this period. The men comprising his military forces were, to a great

extent, the mountaineers from eastern Afghanistan. They did not like the hot climate of the new country and wished to go back home. In spite of these diffi-culties Babur did plant his feet firmly in India. Thus it may be said that the defeat of Ibrahim was but the beginning of Babur's task. "Like Alexander, Babur sought to rouse their pride by stirring address, and, unlike his great predecessor, succeeded in persua-ding his men to follow the path of glory, and despise the dangers which beset them in a strange land.*"

Babur and the Rajputs—Battle of Khauna :—

Babur next had to face a most formidable chieftain —Rana Sangram Singh, better known as Rana Sanga of Mewar. Many heroic exploits are mentioned to his credit. When Babur was in Kabul, Rana Sanga invited him to attack India and also promised of active support. His plan was to engage the Muslim powers in a struggle so exhausting as to enable him to restore Hindu supremacy. But the Rana had hoped that Babur would break the Lodi power for him and then withdrew as Timur had done. Babur writes in his Memoirs that it was arranged between the parties that while the Padshah attacked Sultan Ibrahim from the Delhi side, Rana Sanga was to attack him from the side of Agra. But the Rana stood aloof and watched events. Both accused each other of bad faith.

The Rana, disappointed by Babur's complete success and the failure of his own scheme, was determined to fight Babur. To Babur, Rana Sanga was certainly a more formidable adversary than Ibrahim. Rana Sanga marched with an army, composed of 120 chiefs, 80,000 horses and 500 war elephants, and the rulers of Marwar, Amber, Gwalior, Ajmer, and Chanderi. Sultan Mahmud Lodi also joined them. So it was a huge army and

* Dr. V. Smith—The Oxford History of India.

Babur found that his soldiers were showing signs of panic. He had a dramatic personality and decided to make a gesture. He publicly renounced his drinking of wine, and made another heart touching speech. The speech produced the desired effect and the officers and as well as the men swore by the Holy Book to stand by him. In the battle that followed at Khauna on 16 March 1527, the Mughals fought with a fearless bravery that broke the ranks of the valiant Rajputs. Rana Sanga died fighting and the Rajputs were defeated. This was a decisive victory. It made Babur king of Central India, as he had already conquered Doab. "The battle of Panipat marked the defeat of the titular Sultan of Delhi, who had infact ceased to command sovereign authority, while that of Khauna resulted in the defeat of the powerful Rajput confederacy. The latter thus destroyed the chance of political revival of the Rajputs". [1] But he had not yet finished with the Rajputs. His next expedition was to Chanderi, the stronghold of powerful chieftain Medni Rai. The fort fell without much difficulty. "The occupation of Hindustan might have been looked upon as a mere episode in Babur's career of adventure; but from henceforth it became the keynote of his activities for the remainder of his life. His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now over; the fortune is his and he has but to show himself worthy of it." [2]

Babur and the Afghans—Battle of Gogra :—

The power of the Rajputs was now crushed. Babur next turned against the Afghans in the east. Mahmud Lodi, brother of Ibrahim, had seized Bihar and a large part of the eastern country had declared for him. Babur first sent his son Askari with a large force

1. Dr. R, C. Majumdar and others" 'An advanced History of India.
2. Rushbrook-William—An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century.

against the rebellious leader and himself followed a little later by way of Allahabad, Benaras and Ghazipur. Jalauddin Bahar Khan Lohari submitted to him. Mahmud raised the seige and retired, while the great Afghan army dissolved. Babur occupied Bihar. Mahmud fled and took refuge with Nasrat Shah of Bengal. He warmly supported Mahmud, less from love of the Lodi Dynasty than from fear lest Babur, having conquered Bihar, should invade Bengal. In fact, Babur marched towards Bengal, and defeated the Afghans in the famous battle of the Gogra on May 6th, 1529. A treaty of peace was concluded with Nasrat Shah of Bengal.

Thus, as a result of three battles, Babur had reduced northern India to submission. He left an empire which included Badakhshan, Afghanistan, the Punjab, Delhi, the open plain of Bihar and territories stretching southwards to a perimeter marked by the forts of Biyana, Ranthambhor, Gwalior and Chanderi.

His death. Babur did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his victories. He died on December 26, 1530 He was no more than forty-eight at the time of his death, A touching story is told of Babur's death. His beloved son Humayun was dangerously ill, and Babur performed the well-known ceremony of walking three times round the bed of the young princes saying, 'On me be all that thou art suffering." The son recovered, but father sickened and died. A modern writer rejects this story and states that Ba^ur's death was due to the attack of a disease. His body was, at his own request, carried to Kabul, and laid to rest there.

Estimate of Babur :—

Babur was a remarkable man. He was a great soldier and leader, gay and reckless, and of indomitable courage. As a prince, warrior and scholar he is fit

to be ranked with the greatest rulers of medieval history. Dr. Vincent Smith has portrayed him as "the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age and worth of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country," "His engaging personality, artistic temperament and romantic career," remarks Havell, "make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islam." Schooled in the realities of life, Babur developed in him the qualities of patience, endurance, courage and self-reliance. Babur was a man of outstanding genius, a poet, a musician and a keen lover of beauty. He could write beautiful poems in Persian and was a master of pure and unaffected style in his native Turki. His 'Diwan' or collection of Turki poems is a work of outstanding merit. His autobiography, 'Tuzk-i-Babur' or Memoirs of Babur is one of the most delightful book in the world. He was also a good musician, an excellent calligrapher and possessed a good knowledge of geography and science.

Babur was a born general and a veteran tactician. His military exploits in Central Asia and Indo-Pakistan entitled him to be ranked as one of the greatest generals of the world. He was a a skilful swordsman and archer. His military discipline was severe. Though at times he burst into ferocity he was generally humane and kind-hearted. As a ruler he never slew men wantonly. He did never devastate the conquered countries unnecessarily. He could forgive even his deadliest foe.

"His permanent place in history," say Mr. Lane-poole, "rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line. But as a man he is remembered by the thrilling adventures of early life and by the courage, resourcefulness and buoyancy of disposition which he showed amid desperate situa-

tions in which he was often placed." Distress and misfortune could never touch his heart nor make him pale. He was an affectionate father, a kind master and a generous friend. His loyalty towards his kinsmen and friends was conspicuous. His temper was frank, jovial and buoyant. In dealing even with his enemies he never had recourse to treachery or foul play. He disdained to do anything mean. He was generous to the excess; when he had taken Delhi, he gave away all the immense spoil, keeping nothing for himself, so that people nicknamed him. "The Begging friar" (Kalandar). Before the battle of Khauna he smashed all his drinking cups and had the wine poured out on the ground. He was an orthodox Sunni Muslim but not a fanatic like his great ancestor, Timur. He was a worshipper of truth and disliked hypocracy. He was thus the happy compound of a great prince and a good natured man.

"Babur was unquestionably superior to the other Muslim rulers of his age. It is true, he was sometimes cruel and recked little of human life, but such occasions were few and far between. But what endears him to us, inspite of the lapse of centuries, is his deep and genuine sincerity which adds a great deal to the nobility of his character. Indeed, there are few princes in Asiatic history who can be ranked higher than Babur in genius and accomplishment."*

Babur's Memoirs :—

The autobiography of Babur 'Tuzk-i-Babur' or Baburnama, written in Turki, and translated into Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan by the order of Emperor Akbar, is one of the most delightful books in the world. It deserves a high place in the history of human literature It possesses unaffected style of

* Dr. Ishwari Prasad—A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.

writing, vivid description of lively scences and offers pleasant reading to all. Babur's views in his Memoirs for frankness, freshness and shrewdness of observation have not been surpassed. In it he has faithfully discussed all his vices and virtues, his wisdom and folly, his likings and dislikings. This is evident from his description of Hindustan. He writes:

"Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together or familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness of fellowfeeling, no ingenuity of mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture, they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not candlestick........"

In the language of Elphinstone, "Babur's memoirs contain a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve and no less free from the affection of extreme frankness and candour. The style is plain and manly and as well as lively and picturesque and it presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits and actions as clearly as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia—he gives the figures, dress, tastes and habits of each individual and describes the countries, the climate, scenery, production, works of art and industry. But the great charm of the book is in the character of the author. It is a relief in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history to find a king who can weep for days and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood."

CHAPTER XII

HUMAYUN AND SHER SHAH

Humayun :—

Babur was succeeded by his eldest son Humayun who ruled for ten years. He was courteous, brave, accomplished, and capable, on occasion, of displaying great energy, but not of sustained effort. He lacked political wisdom and displomatic skill, as well as strong determination and preservation of his father.

His difficulties. Humayun's reign began with some troubles. Babur had conquered Hindustan but did not live long enough to consolidate it. Moreover, there was hardly any unity in the royal family. His cousins, Muhammad Zaman and Muhammad Sultan were pretenders to the throne. To his brothers, Kamran, Hindal and Askari, he gave the government of provinces. But they all wanted the imperial throne and began to fight with him. "The first mistake on the part of Humayun," remarks a modern scholar, "was that he showed indiscreet clemency, probably under the dying instructions of his father, towards his brothers, who being his jealous rivals should have been kept under effective control." All these brothers at the most critical stages of his career deserted him and this hastened his downfall. The Afghan nobles began to throw off the yoke. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, and Sher Khan, a very able powerful Afghan general who had made himself master of Bihar, refused allegiance to him. Humayun was thus surrounded by a ring of enemies.

Humayun and the Afghans. Humayun's first military expedition was directed against the strong fort of

Kalanjar in Bundel-Khand, then ruled by a pro-Afghan Hindu Raja. But he had to retire, after receiving a large sum of money from the Raja, to deal with the Afghans under Mahmud Lodi, Bahar Khan and Bayezid. They were defeated in the battle of Dourah. Next he laid siege to Chunar, then held by the Afghan chief Sher Khan. But Sher Khan was a clever man. Seeing that he was not strong enough to fight, he submitted and offered the services of his son Qutb Khan to Humayun. Humayun accepted the offer and withdrew because he was now anxious to march against Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

Humayun and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Bahudur Shah of Gujarat, without serious designs on Delhi and Agra, was nevertheless a menace, for he had recently extended his power by the annexation of the neighbouring kingdom of Malwa. Bahudur next laid siege to the famous Rajput fortress of Chitor. Further, Bahadur Shah had given definite provocation to Humayun by openly giving shelter and help to Alam Khan, uncle of Ibrahim, an old intriguer, and Muhammad Zaman Mirza, a brother-in-law of Humayun, who was intriguing against the emperor. Humayun demanded the surrender of both these persons from Bahadur Shah, but that Bahadur Shah considered it dishonourable to give up a person who had sought shelter with him. So Humayun marched against Bahadur and conquered both Malwa and Gujarat. Bahadur was driven to seek shelter in Diu. He made his brother, Askari, Viceroy of Gujarat and himself stayed in Malwa to put things in order. In the meantime Bahadur sought the help of the Portuguese and recovered the whole of Gujarat. Even Malwa was lost to Humayun. Thus "one year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces; the next saw them quickly lost."

Sher Shah :—

His Early Career. "The career of Sher Khan Sur," in the language of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "is as fascinating as that of Babur and not less instructive than that of the great Mughal, Akbar." His original name was Farid. According to Dr. Qanungo, he was born in 1486 A. D., but Prof. Paramatma Saran places his year of birth in 1472 A. D. His father, Hasan Khan, was a jagirdar at Sasaram in Bihar. Disgusted by the conduct of his step mother and indefferent attitude of his father, Farid left his home and went to Jaunpur. For sometime he devoted himself to study. He committed to memory the *Gulistan*, *Bostan* and *Sikandarnamah*. Being pleased with the talents of this promising youth, Jamal Khan, his father's patron, effected a reconciliation between him and his father who allowed him to return to Sasaram and to administer his jagir. He did his work so well that his step-mother grew jealous of his popularity and so he left Sasaram once again and went to Agra.

In 1522 Sher entered the service of Bahar Khan Lohani, the independent Afghan ruler of Bihar. He soon secured the favour of his master by discharging his duties honestly and assiduously. His master rewarded him with the title of Sher Khan for his bravery in killing a tiger single-handed and appointed him as the tutor of his minor son. But soon he resigned his service and went to Agra where he was introducted to Babur. His abilities were appreciated by Babur who restored to him the ancestral jagir. About this time Bahar Khan Lohani died and Sher Khan soon left the Mughal service and came back to Bihar to become the guardian of his minor son, Jalal Khan, his former pupil. He now became the virtual master of Bihar. His next move was to secure the fort of Chunar by marrying the window of Taj Khan, the Lord of Chunar.

Humayun besieged Chunar in 1531 but Sher Khan managed to retain it by making a show of submission. The Lohani chiefs of Bihar now grew jealous of the rising power of Sher Khan, and even Jalal Khan wished to free himself from the tutelage of this powerful Afghan chief. "They entered into an alliance with Mahmud Shah, ruler of Bengal, who was eqnally eager to check the rise of Sher Khan. But Sher Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on the combined armies of the allies at Surajgarh in 1536. This victory made him the undisputed master of Bihar.

Emboldened by this success Sher Shah began to mature plans for expelling the Mughal interlopers. About this time Humayun was busy fighting against Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Sher Shah utilised the interval in strengthening his position. He suddenly invaded Bengal and its weak ruler, Mahmud Shah, concluded peace with him by paying him a large sum, amounting to thirteen lacks of gold pieces and ceding several districts. Sher again invaded Bengal towards the close of 1537, with a view to conquering it permanently.

Humayun and Sher Shah :—

It was at this stage that Humayun decided to check the rising power of Sher Shah, who was fast becoming a menace to the Mughals in the east. He hurried from Gujarat, but instead of proceeding straight to Gaur, by which he could have upset the plans of Sher Khan in alliance with the Sultan of Bengal, he wanted six months in besieging Chunar. Meanwhile Sher Khan conquered Gaur, the capital of Bengal (April, 1538), and seized the impregnable mountain fort of Rothas. When Humayun heard of Sher Khan's success in Bengal, he advanced towards Gaur, but Sher Khan, instead of offering

resistance, lured him into a perilous advance into Bengal. The Mughals captured Gaur and re-named it Jannatabad. Humayun spent six months in merriment and idleness. Sher Khan in the meantime took Benaras, laid siege to Jaunpur and overan the whole country as far as Kanauj.

Sher Khan's Activities :—

Sher Khan's activities roused Humayun from his lethargy. He left Bengal and set out for Agra but Sher Khan intercepted and completely surprised and defeated his army at Chausa near Buxar in 1539. The emperor fought with great gallantry but he was defeated and barely escaped with his own life to Agra. Sher Khan now assumed the royal little of *Sher Shah* and ordered *Khutba* to be read and the coins to be struck in his name.

Early next year Humayun tried to recover his fortune. He asked help from his brothers, but none of his brothers was prepared to give him any aid. Humayun was in desperate straits. A decisive battle took place on the bank of Ganges on May 19, 1540, which is commonly known as the *battle of Kanauj*. Mirza Haider, the author of the Tarikh-i-Rashidi, who took part in the compaign tells us that "........ Sher Khan gained a victory, while the Chaghtais were defeated in the battlefield, where not a man either friend or foe was wounded. Not a gun was fired and the chariots were useless." This statement of Mirza Haider may be an exaggeration but there is no doubt that the battle was not half so bloody as the battle of Panipat and Khanwali. "Thus the work of Babur in India was undone, and the sovereignty of Hindustan once more passed to the Afghans"

Humayun's flight from India. Humayun now became a homeless wanderer. The story of his life in deserts

of Rajputana and Sind is one of the most romantic and pathetic in the life of any king. It is true that he had neither the resolution nor the high-mindedness of Babur nor the brilliance of Sher Shah, but he was certainly no dreamer. He had determination and high purpose of his own. His brothers gave him no help, and Kamran proved a source of great trouble and anxiety. Deserted by his brothers, Humayun sought the help of Maldeva of Jodhpur who promised to help him with a contingent of 20,000 Rajputs. But Maldeva did not keep his word. He then went to Amarkot where he was hospitably received by its Rana who also promised to assist the emperor in conquering Bhakkar and Thatta. But the Rana also disappointed him in the end. In this heaven of refuge under the protection of a Hindu Raja his queen gave birth to Akbar. Finally, surrounded by enemies and overcome by misfortune he reached the Persian Court, where at last he found shelter.

Conquest of Sher Shah. After the flight of Humayun, Sher Shah ascended the throne under the royal style of Fariduddin Abul Muzaffar Shah. He was then the undisputed master of Bengal, Bihar, Jaunpur, Delhi and Agra. He was so strong that Kamran made peace with him by giving up the Punjab. Sher built the fort of Rathos in the Punjab. Sind and Multan were also conquered. Sher next returned to Bengal to re-organise the administration of the province. He divided the country into nineteenth *Sarkars*, and to co-ordinate the work of the Sarkars, appointed *Amin i-Bangala*. Affairs in Malwa next claimed Sher's attention and he at once led an expedition there and subjugated it. He laid siege to the strong fortress of Raisin which surrendered after holding out for four months. It is said that Sher Shah treacherously massacred the Rajputs as soon as they came outside of the fort. According

to Dr. Qanungo, this imputation of some historians against Sher Shah is not historically true.

The most difficult military operation of Sher Shah was his fight against Maldev, the Rathor chief of Marwar. He was an able general and began to extend his power at the expense of the neighbouring states. In 1544, Sher marched against him with an army of 80,000 and met the Rajput hosts near Ajmer. The Rajputs had a larger army and fought with reckless bravary, but Sher Shah was a better general. Their ranks broke and fled. It was a great victory and the Rajputs were subdued for a generation.

The next year he besieged the fortress of Kalanjar but he was killed by the explosion of a shell.

Sher's Shah's administrative Achievements :—

Sher Shah ruled for only five years, but into these five years he crowded such works and crowned such achievements that he has been acknowledged as a very remarkable monarch in history. A great general and strategist, Sher Shah never lost a battle. But it was as an administrator that he really shone. "No government —not even the British," affirms Mr. Keene, "has shown so much as this Pathan." His government was autocratic but enlightened. In the spirit of an enlightened despot, he "attempted to found an empire broadly based upon the people's will. He looked into the minutest detail of administration and kept a strict watch over his officers, who were severely punished, when they violated his rule. "It was Sher Shah," remarks Dr. Qanungo "who unwittingly built up for the Mughals that structure of administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."

For purposes of administration, the whole Empire

was divided into 47 Sarkars, each of which was again subdivided into several Parganas. Each Pargana comprised a large number of villages. In each Sarkar, there was a *Shiqdar-Shiqdaran* (Shiqdar-in-chief) and a *munsif-i-munsifan* (Munsif-in-chief) to look after the work of the Pargana officers, to watch the conduct of both the *amins* and the people, to settle disputes regarding the boundaries of the Pargana and to punish any act of lawlessness. Each Pargana had a *Shiqdar* and *Amin*, a treasurer, a Munsif, a Hindi-writer and a Persian writer to write accounts. Besides them, there were the *Patwari*, *Chowdhari* and *Muqaddam* who acted as intermediaries between the people and the state. The Shiqdar was a soldier, who gave military assistance to the Amins and enforced royal *firmans*. The Amin was the first civil officer, whose duty was the assessment and collection of land revenue. The treasurer was the incharge of the revenue. Every branch of the administration was subject to Sher Shah's personal supervision. He made periodical transfers of his officers so that the officials should not become lazy and their work stale.

His revenue system was a wonderful achievement. He had the land properly measured, and fixed the land revenue direct with the cultivators. The land was measured at the time of harvest and the revenue was fixed at one-third of the expected produce. It was payable in cash or kind. But the latter method was preferred. For the collection of revenue the Government utilised the services of officers like the Amins, the Maqaddams, the Shiqdars, the Qanungos and the Patwaris. He instructed the revenue officers to show mercy at the time of assessment but to be strict at the time of collection. In order that there might not be any scope for confusion and oppression the *Kabuliyat* and *Patta system* was introduced. These documents contained

a clear enumeration of the dues of the State from the individual concerned as also his rights over the particular piece of land. Agriculture was encouraged and loans were advanced to the tenants in case of damage to, and failure of, crops. It was this system which was later taken up and developed by Raja Todar Mal, the revenue minister of emperor Akbar.

Sher Shah introduced some specific changes in the mint and stopped the gradual deterioration of the weight of coins. He issued an abundance of silver coins which was equal in value to the modern rupee. He also encourged trade and commerce by abolishing vexatious duties. This was further helped by the improvement of communication. "The most permanent among the monuments of his glory are his roads which have kept his memory still green in the mind of his countrymen."—says Dr. Qanungo. He connected the important places of his kingdom by a chain of excellent roads. He laid out the great Grand Trunk Road from Gaur in Bengal to the Indus about 1,500 kos in length. This is one of the finest highroads in the world. There were others, the chiefs of which were one from Agra to Burhanpur, another from Agra via Biyana to the frontier of Marwar and to the fort of Chitor, and a fourth from Lahore to Multan. On either side of the road were planted fruit trees for affording to travellers shade as well as refreshment, caravanserais well-built and wells dug. He is said to have built 1700 *Sarais* or rest-houses for travellers. Separate arrangements were made for the Muslims and the Hindus. The *Dakchauki* was also improved very considerably. These sarais served the purpose of post-houses.

The police system was remodelled. The village headmen were made responsible for the maintenance of peace and the detection of crimnals in their respective areas. "If a theft or robbery occurred within the

jurisdiction of an amil or shiqdar and the culprits were not traced, the Muqaddams were arrested and compelled to make good the loss. When a murder occurred and the murderer was not traced, the Muqaddams were seized as before and asked to produce him. If they failed to produce him or to give his whereabouts, they were themselves put to death."* Besides the police, there were the *Muhtasibs* who prevented the crimes such as drinking and adultery, and encouraged the people to improve their moral character. The system resulted in the complete security of life and property. "Such was the state of safety of the high way," observes Nazimuddin, "that if any one carried a purse full of gold (pieces) and slept in the desert (deserted places) for nights, there was no need for keeping watch." Sher Shah also maintained an efficient system of espionage to keep himself informed of day to day happenings.

Sher Shah administered even-handed justice. Justice was administered to all strictly, whoever the offender might he, whether a scion of the Royal family, a tyrannical landlord or a peasant. The Emperor was the highest court of appeal both for civil and criminal cases. Next to him was the *Qazi-ul-Quzzat*, who with the help of *Mir-i-Adal*, tried both civil and criminal cases in his court known as the *Dar-ul-Adalat.* In Sarkar the civil cases were tried by *Munsif-i-Munsifan* and the criminal cases by the *Qazi* of the Sarkar. The next unit was the Pargana where the civil suits were disposed of by the Amin, and other cases, mostly criminal, by the Qazi of the Pargana. The civil cases of the Hindus were decided in their *Panchayats*, but in criminal cases they were amenable to the law of the State. The criminal law was very severe and the punishment was an examplary one.

* Dr. Ishwari Prasad—A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.

Sher Shah maintained a strong and efficient *army*. He increased the efficiency of the army by enforcing strict discipline and checked fraudulent musters by reviving Alauddin's system of branding the horses in the government service. He had under his direct command a large force consisting of 150,000 cavalry, 25,000 infantry, 5,000 elephants and artillery. The cavalry was highly efficient. The Emperor personally appointed the soldiers and himself fixed their salaries. Sher Shah treated his soldiers with kindness and supplied those who were poor with arms and horses. Garrisons were maintained at different strategic points of the kingdom ; each of this called fauj, was under the command of a faujdar.

Estimate of Sher Shah :—

Sher Shah was a man of parts and of a singularly enterprising character. He may rightly be called one of the greatest rulers of mediaeval India. From a very humble position he had come up by personal efforts, great determination and unusual ability. A man of learning and wonderful resources, a dashing soldier, a general of high order, a politician of keen diplomacy, when he mounted the throne, he exhibited the highest qualities of a statesman and a beneficent sovereign.

As a general he was superb. In strategy and tactics he outgeneralled the Mughals. His triumph over Humayun and Meldev shows his skill in stratagem and his campaigns against Bengal, Malwa, Bundelkand and Rajputana reveal his genius as a tactician and military commander. Originality and boldness of plan, rapidity of movement, and an eye for stratigic situations characterises his campaigns. Inspite of all these, he was averse to unnecessary bloodshed. He disapproved cruelty and showed honour to the fallen enemies.

The many salutary reforms which he carried out within a short space of his reign bear eloquent testimony to his enlightened statesmanship. Moderate and scientific in his revenue assessment, liberal in his gifts, generous in supporting learning and the learned, wise in his army reforms, munificent in laying down Grand Trunk Roads, planting trees, sinking wells, establishing caravanserais, building mosques, Madrasahs and Khangahs, and erecting bridges few Hindu-Muslim kings come up to his level. He administered justice so vigorously that he impressed his personality on all and established thorough peace. His system of land revenue, his administrative reforms and his policy of religious toleration prepared the ground for Akbar's glorious work. Todar Mal and others adopted his methods of administration and modified them according to the needs of the situation. Indeed, Sher Shah's achievements place him in the forefront of medieaval history.

"Sher Shah was the first who attempted to found an Indian Empire broadly based upon the people's will," remarks, Mr. W. Crooke. Sher Shah wanted to build up an Indian nation by reconciling the followers of different creeds. To him the Muslims and the Hindus were alike. Although a strict Sunni, he was well-disposed towards other sects and religions. He had the wisdom of exploiting Hindu genius for the creation and consolidation of his empire. He employed Hindus in important offices of the State. One of his best generals was Hindu named Brahmjit Gour. "Sher Shah," says Dr. Qanungo, "stands as the ideal of the new India—the India of the Hindus and the Musalmans united in heart and spirit."

He had a lofty ideal of kingship and used to say that "it behoves the great to be always active." Stern though his rule was, it evinced a real care for the

people's welfare. He lived for the state and worked heard for the welfare of his subjects. He looked into every detail of government, His reforms promoted trade and agriculture and thereby conduced to the prosperity of the people. He patronised art and letters and held that it was the duty of kings to afford relief to the poor and destitute. Madrasahs and mosques were maintained and stipends were granted to teachers and students. To help the poor, the weak and infirm, he established many kitchens. He had also a taste for building which is testified by his noble masoleum at Sasaram. "He had," says Erskine, "more of the spirit of a legislator and a guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar".

Sher Shah died in 1545 after a reign of five years. Had he lived longer, India would have been benefitted much from his reforms. Dr. Smith observes: "If Sher Shah had been spared, the 'Great Mughal' would not have appeared to the stage of history." "His right to the throne of India was better than that of Humayun, While Humayun had inherited the conquests of a Central Asian adventurer, who had not been able to create any strong claim, except that of force, for the rule of his dynasty in India, Sher Shah's family, hailing from the frontier, had lived within India for three generations. Further, the latter's equipment for kingship was exceptionally high, and he had achieved a good deal more than the mere conquest of territories." *

Successors of Sher Shah. The history of ten years following the death of Sher Shah was a record of internal dissension, rebellion and war. His son, Islam Shah, succeeded him. He died in 1554 after a reign of nine years. Islam Shah was succeeded by his minor son Firuz. Within a few days he was murdered by his uncle Adil Shah who then usurped the throne.

Dr. R. C. Mujamdar and others—An Advanced History of India.

Two of the nephews of Sher Shah contested Adil's right to the throne. One of them, Ibrahim Sur, seized Agra and Delhi, while the second, Sikandar Sur, occupied the Punjab. Adil Shah retired to Chunar. It was this disturbed state of affairs that encouraged Humayun to invade India and to re-occupy Agra and Delhi.

Restoration of Humayun :—

It has already been pointed out that in Persia, Humayun met with a favourable reception. The Persian king, Shah Tahmasp, decided to help him with 14,000 horsemen on conditions that Humayun should conform to the Shia creed and Qandahar should be given to the Shah after victory. Humayun yielded to the necessity and conquered Kabul and Qandahar in 1545 with the help of the Persia army and defeated Kamran. So within five years of his defeat at Bilgram at the hands of Sher Shah, Humayun became master of Afghanistan, the country, from where, twenty years before, Babur had left for India. Humayun continued to have troubles with his brothers and his fortunes varied, but he gradually overcame them. He forced Askari to leave for Mecca on a pilgrimage. Hindal died in a skirmish in 1551. Kamran was captured. Humayun was now free to turn his mind to the reconquest of India. He took possession of Lahore without much opposition, and having defeated Sikandar Shah, one of the claimants to the throne, marched upon Delhi and re-occupied it But he could not enjoy the royal honour for a long, as he died of a fall from the stair of his palace, in January 1556 A. D.

Estimate of Humayun :—

Humayun was a refined gentleman, a brave and gallant soldier and a generous and amiable man. He was

endowed with many noble qualities. He loved literature and extended his patronage to men of letters. He was interested in astronomy, mathematics and poetry. Regarding his character Nizamuddin Ahmad says, "His (Humayun) angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses and all the learned men of the time received his patronage." But the great defect of his character was his want of resolution and strong determination. He was devoid of diplomatic skill and political wisdom. He had none of the energetic promptitude and resourcefulness which characterised his versatile father. As Lane-Poole observes, "he was incapable of sustained effort and after a moment of triumph would bury himself in his harem and dream away the precious hours in the opium-eater's paradise whilst his enemies were thundering at the gate. Naturally kind, he forgave when he should have punished ; light-hearted and sociable, he revelled at the table when he ought to have been in saddle. His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate', and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled."

CHAPTER XIII

AKBAR

Accession of Akbar :—

It was while his father, Humayun, was a homless wanderer that Akbar was born at Amarkot on October 15, 1542. At the time of Humayun's death, Akbar was in the field under his tutor Bairam Khan, taking part in a campaign against one of Sher Shah's nephews. He, like his grandfather, had started on his military career while still a mere boy. Having been born while his father was a fugitive, he had received no formal education. It is even probable that he could not read or write; but he had a prodigious memory and a passion for knowledge. When the news of his father's death arrived, Bairam Khan hastily arranged for Akbar to be crowned as Padshah, before rival claimants should have the opportunity of rising. The coronation took place at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur district, on February 14, 1556.

Political condition of India in 1556. India in 1556 "presented a dark as well as a complex picture." The whole country was in a state of disorder and the country round Delhi and Agra was in the horror of a terrible famine. Independent kingdoms in different parts of India were contending for power. Two of the nephews of Sher Shah—Ibrahim Sur and Sikandar Sur were contesting for the throne. But the most formidable enemy of Akbar turned out to be Himu, the Hindu minister of Adil Shah. He had given up his alligiance to his master and occupied Agra and Delhi from the Mughal governor Tardi Beg. In the north-west, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half brother, governed Kabul almost independently. Kashmir had also become an independent state under a local Muslim dynasty. Sind

and Multan had become free from the imperiod control after the death of Sher Shah. Bengal was ruled by kings of Sur dynasty. Orissa, Malwa and Gujarat and the local chieftains of Gondwana were independent of the control of Delhi. The Muslim Sultanates of Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunada were ruled by the Sultans who felt little or no interest in northern policies. The Portuguese had established their influence on the western coast by the possession of Goa and Diu. Thus Akbar's task of building up an empire was exceedingly difficult.

Second Battle of Panipat (1556). It has been discussed above that Akbar's chief rival was Hemu, a clever but unscrupulous Hindu minister who had done good work under Sher Shah and his nephew Shah Adil. Himu possessed courage, enterprise and plan. For a time things appeared so serious that Akbar's counsellors thought of retiring to Kabul. But in this crisis Bairam Khan proved a tower of strength to Akbar. He put a bold face on the situation. When Himu marched against the Mughals after the capture of Delhi and Agra, Bairam Khan met him at the historic field of Panipat in November 1556. Hemu was successful in routing the flanks of his enemy's army, and might even have won, when he was struck in the eye by an arrow. His forces, being now leaderless, were at once thrown into confusion and fled. The wounded Himu was captured and beheaded by Bairam Khan. The defeat of Himu at the second battle of Panipat marked the final triumph of the Mughals in their contest for supremacy in Indo-Pakistan.

The triumph of Babur on the field of Panipat in 1526 marked the foundation of the Mughal rule in Indo-Pakistan. But "the history of India from 1526 to 1556 A. D. is mainly the story the Mughal-Afghan contest for supremacy in this land." Humayun lost

his throne 1540 and recovered it in 1555. He was succeeded by his great son, Akbar. It was Akbar who not only consolidated his father's dominion but also made extensive conquests. After the victory at Panipat Akbar quickly conquered Agra and Delhi. In the Punjab, Sikandar Sur was compelled to surrender. Then Akbar enlarged his dominion by the conquest of Gwalior, Ajmer and Jaunpur.

Bairam Khan and the Regency :—

Bairam Khan, a Turkoman by birth, had accompanied the Persian army sent by Shah Ismail to help Babur. He remained in India and destinguished himself in the service of both Babur and Humayun. He played a very important part in the Bengal expedition of Humayun. After the battle of Kanauj he remained with Humayun and became his chief adviser. As a guardian of Akbar during his minority he had loyally supported the cause of his youthful sovereign and it was chiefly due to his courage and determination that Akbar recovered his lost inheritance. The success of the Mughals in the second battle of Panipat was mainly due to him. Thus he had rendered valuable service to the Mughals. He was a man with wonderful qualities. Badauni, who is an orthodox Sunni, praises this Shia minister's upright character, love of learning and devoutness.

The fall of Bairam Khan is one of the most interesting episode in the early history of Akbar's reign. As Akbar now growing into manhood, the Regent's control irked him. Bairam was haugty and arrogant and he had created many enemies by this time by using his power unscruplously. According to Abul-Fazl, "Bairam's proceedings went beyond all endurance." Hated as a Shia, he made the great mistake of appoin-ting in 1558-59, Skaikh Gadai, a Shia, as

'Sadr-us-Sudar', the highest judicial and ecclesiastical position in the empire. The execution of Tardi Beg had offended many. Akbar himself was kept short of funds, while Bairam's servants grew rich. A more serious reason for the growing estrangement between Akbar and Bairam was the supspicion that the latter was harbouring the intention of placing on the throne Abul Qasim, son of Kamran. The ladies of the imperial harem were impatient of an authority which baulked their ambition to make their youthful sovereign their own instrument. Thus a conspiracy was formed in which the principal partners were the ladies of harem. They induced Akbar to assert himself against his guardian. Early in 1560, the Emperor publicly announced his intention of taking the reins of the government into his own hands. He dismissed Bairam Khan and directed him to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Akbar, probably at the instance of the ladies, deputed Pir Muhammad Khan, a former servant of Bairam, to follow him and see that he left the imperial dominions without delay. This insult goaded him to rebellion. He was defeated near Jalandhar and captured ; but Akbar pardoned him and sent him off to Mecca. On his way to Mecca, Bairam was murdered by an Afghan, (1561) whose father had been executed by his order. Bairam's infant son, Abdur Rahim, was brought to the court and educated under Akbar's care and eventually became the first noble in the empire.

The Petticoat Government :—

The period 1560-62 has been described as the period of petticoat mis-government. Though Akbar had freed himself from the tutelage of Bairam Khan but he could not fully assume the reins of government into his own hands. Dr. V. Smith says that "Akbar shook off the tutelage of the Khan-i-Khanam only to

bring himself under the monstrous regime of unscrupulous women." In reality, his foster mother, Maham, and some other ladies no doubt exercised considerable influence but they could never dominate over Akbar. Akbar, infact, acted according to his own judgment. This is evident from the fact that Akbar pardoned Bairam Khan irrespective of the wishes of Maham. Again, no title or jagir was granted to her son, Adam Khan, which should have been the main object of Maham. It is true, Adam was entrusted with the command of the expedition against Malwa but later Akbar killed Adam Khan, because the latter had murdered Shamsuddin Atka Khan on whom emperor proposed to confer the office of Vakil. If Akbar had been under Maham's influence, Adam would not have suffered such a cruel fate. The mismanagement of these years was mainly due to Akbar's inexperience and his inability to find a capable minister after the death of Bairam Khan.

Conquests and Annexations :—

Akbar was a man of strong imperial instinct. "A monarch," he said, "should he ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbour rise in arms against him." "His designs," remarks Dr. V. Smith, "were purely aggressive, his intention being to make himself the unquestioned lord paramount of India, and to suppress the independence of every kingdom within the reach of his arm. He carried out that policy with unflinching tenacity until January 1601, when the mighty fortress of Asirgarh, his last acquisition, passed into his hands."

Early conquests (158—62). During the Regency of Bairam Khan Gwalior, Ajmer, Jaunpur, were reconquered. Between 1560-61 the conquest of Malwa was completed. In 1562, Raja Bihari Mal of Amber (Jaipur) submitted to Akbar without fighting. His son Bhag-

wan Das and grandson Man Singh entered Mughal army and both played a leading part in extending consolidation of the Mughal Empire.

Conquest of Gondwana (1564). In 1564 Akbar sent Asaf Khan, governor of Kara and the eastern provinces, to invade Gondwana. The Raja of that place was Bir Narayan, but its real ruler was his mother, Durgavati. The warlike lady had ruled the Gond kingdom well. She made a stubborn resistance, but her troops were no match for those of Asaf Khan and in the last battle, which took place between them in the Jubbulpore district, she was overwhelmed. She preferred death to disgrace and committed suicide Bir Narayan also died fighting to save the fortress of Chauragarh. Asaf Khan captured a vast booty.

Fall of Chitor and Surrender of other Rajput Chiefs (1567—68). The most famous military feat of Akbar in Rajputana was the storming of the fortress of Chitor (Mewar). Its ruler Udai Singh, says Tod, "had not one quality of a soverign ; and, wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all." The Rana incurred the displeasure of Akbar by giving shelter to his enemies, Baz Bahadur of Malwa and Mirzas of Gujarat. Moreover, Akbar's desire of becoming the lord paramount of Northern India could not be realised unless he captured the famous fortress of Chitor and Ranthambhor. "No monarch", remarks Dr. V. Smith, "could feel himself secure in the upper India until he had possession of Chitor." So Akbar in 1567 marched against Chitor. At the news of his arrival, Rana Udai Singh fled to hills leaving Chitor in charge of Jaimall and Patta. They offered a stubborn resistance for four months. The siege might have lasted much longer but Jaimall was killed by a lucky shot of Akbar. Patta also fell dead later. The Rajputs, left leaderless, perished fighting bravely and

the Rajput women performed the *rite of Jauhar.* Abul Fazl writes that 30,000 persons were killed, but according to the modern scholars, this seems to be exaggeration.

Struck with terror at the fall of Chitor, the Rajput chiefs of Ranthambhor and Kalinjar surrendered to him. Ranthambhor fell in 1569. The chief of Kalinjar followed suit in the same year. In 1570 the ruler of Bikaner and Jaisalmar also submitted to the Mughal Emperor. Some of them gave their daughters in marriage to Akbar.

Conquest of Gujarat (1572—73). After the subjugation of Rajputana, Akbar decided to recover Gujarat, the lost province of the Mughal. Besides, its wealth, flourishing trade and thriving maritime commerce, and lastly its anarchical condition attracted the attention of the Great Mughal. The country was passing through chaos and confusion due to the struggle between Muzaffar Shah II and the Mirzas who had established themselves there. Muzaffar Shah was a weak and incompetent ruler. So his minister, Itimad Khan, invited Akbar to relieve the province out of this chaotic condition. In 1572, Akbar personally marched against Gujarat. When he reached Ahmadabad, Muzaffar Shah submitted to him. He captured Surat in 1573 after a siege of one and half a month and then ruturned to Fatehpur Sikri. But no sooner had he reached the capital then a fresh insurrection led by the Mirzas broke out in the newly conquered province. He at once fitted out an expedition, and thoroughly vanquished the insurgents in a battle near Ahmadabad (1573). Akbar was now complete master of Gujarat and henceforth it became an integral part of his empire.

"The conquest of Gujarat," remarks Dr. Smith, "marks an important epoch in Akbar's history." It

extended the boundary of his empire to the sea and the empire could now profit by rich commerce through Surat and other ports. The emperor for the first time came into contact with the Portuguese, which in some ways influenced the history of this sub-continent. It was at Gujarat, that the emperor met the Christian missionaries and the Persians scholars.

Conquest of Bengal (1574-76). Akbar was now left free to indulge his ambition in other directions. His next conqquest was that of Bengal. Sulaiman Karrani, an Afghan chief, became ruler of Bengal in 1564. With a view to placate Akbar, Sulaiman formally recognised the overlordship of Akbar and maintained friendly relations with him. He transferred his capital from Gaur to Tanda. He also annexed the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. On his death in 1572, his youngest son Daud became the ruler of Bengal, who according to the author of 'Tabaqat', "knew nothing of the art of government." Daud fancied himself strong enough to defy the Mughal emperor and to struck coins in his own name. Moreover, he provoked Akbar by attacking the outpost of Zamania on the eastern frontier of the Empire.

So, in 1574, Akbar himself marched against the ruler of Bengal and drove him out of Patna and Hajipur. Akbar returned to his capital, leaving the Bengal campaign to be conducted by his general Munim Khan, assisted by Raja Todar Mal. Daud retreated towards Orissa. In March, 1575, a decisive battle was fought at Tukarioi in Orissa, in which Daud was defeated. Munim Khan granted him favourable terms. But Daud soon broke his promise and rose in revolt. He was defeated and killed in a battle, near Rajmahal in July, 1576. Although Bengal formally became a province of the Mughal Empire, but some powerful Bengal chiefs, the most important

of whom were Isa Khan of Dacca-Mymensingh, Kedar Rai of Vikrampur, Kandarpanarayan of Chandradvipa (Bakarganj) and Pratapaditya of Jessore, continued to enjoy practical independence for many years. Orissa was annexed in 1592.

Rebellion in Bengal (*1580-84*). In 1580, the Muslim nobles in Bengal and Bihar rose in revolt against the religious and administrative innovations. The administration of Muzaffar Khan Turbati, who succeeded Khan-i-Jahan in 1579, caused much dissatisfaction. He attempted to enforce the branding-regulation, instituted an enquiry into the titles of the fief-holders, resumed holdings for which titles could not be produced, and reduced the field-seivice pay of the troops, even demanding the refund of payments regularly made at the old rate. But it was religious question which underlay the unrest which broke out in open revolt. The Qazi of Jaunpur, Muhammad Yazdi, is said to have issued a *fatwa* justifying rebellion against Akbar in view of his heterodoxy. Masum Khan, the Jagirdar of Patna, was the chief leader of the revolt. By 1584, rebellion in Bengal and Bihar was put down by Akbar's officers—Raja Todar Mal, Mirza Aziz Koka and Shahbaz Khan.

War with Mewar 1572-97). Though Chitor was taken, but its Rana Udai Singh did not submit. He, in the mountain fastnesses founded a new capital called Udaipur after his own name. Udai Singh died in 1572. His son and successor, the valiant Pratap Singh, who embodied in his person the spirit of Rajput freedom, made a vow to recover Chitor and vindicate the honour of the House of Mewar. He kept up the unequal struggle with the Mughal Emperor for nearly a quarter of century. In 1576, a great fight between the Rana and the Imperial army led by a Rajput chief, Raja Man Singh of Amber, took place

near the pass of *Haldighat*, in which the Rana's army suffered a severe defeat. After the battle the Rana, who was seriously wounded, retired into the distant hills, and all the strong places fell into Mughal hands one after another. But the heroic Pratap, though defeated and dispossessed, continued to hold out till he recovered a large part of Mewar. He died in January, 1597. "Thus closed the life of a Rajput whose memory" observes Tod, "is even now idolized" by every Rajput.

Rana Pratap was succeeded by his son Amar Singh, in 1597, who tried to carry the dying behest of his father, but was defeated at the hand of Man Singh in 1599 A. D. Man Singh could not follow up his victory as he was called to quell the revolt of Usman Khan in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion but could not undertake it owing to illness.

Conquest of Kabul (1581-85). Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's brother, who ruled at Kabul, was encouraged to invade the Punjab by a revolt in Bengal. According to Nazimuddin, Hakim came out from Kabul with the object of conquering Hindustan. At the head of 15,000 cavalry Hakim came as far as Lahore. He was opposed by Man Singh and compelled to withdraw to Kabul. But Akbar pursued him. He surrendered to Akbar and therefore was allowed to rule at Kabul as a dependency until 1585, when he died of excessive drinking. Kabul was annexed then to the Mughal Empire with Man Singh as its governor.

The North-West Frontier Policy of Akbar :—

The regions on the border-land between India and Afghanistan have proved a source of trouble to every Indian government. As this region occupies a strategic position as well as economic importance, so every ruler of Hindustan tried to maintain effective control over it.

It was inhabited by wild Afghan tribes such as the Uzbegs and the Yusufzais. Fierce and fanatical, these hill tribes were passionately fond of liberty and would not come under any form of settled government. Secure in their mountain fastnesses they have resisted all attempts to subdue them ; moreover, they would not let slip any opportunity to create disturbances on the frontier. So, it was quite natural for Akbar to establish his firm hold in the countries in the north-west. Akbar succeeded in suppressing the turbulence of *Uzbegs*. He also defeated the *Roshniyas*', another sect of fanatical Mussalmans. Another tribe, the *Yusufzais* gave Akbar a good deal of trouble. Zain Khan and Raja Birbal marched against them, but were defeated and lost 8,000 soldiers including Raja Birbal himself. The Emperor was deeply grieved to hear of the death of his dear friend. Akbar next sent Prince Murad and Raja Todar Mal at the head of a large army. Todar Mal inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels and the district of Swat, Bajaur and Boner were cleansed of the evil doers.

Conquest of Kashmir, Sind and Qandahar. After suppressing the hill tribes, Akbar sent Raja Bhagwan Das and Qasim Khan at the head of 5,000 men to conquer Kashmir. They defeated its Sultan, Yusuf Shah, and his son Yakub, in 1586. Kashmir was annexed to the Empire and it became the summer residence of the Emperor. Sind and Baluchistan were conquered in 1590-91 and 1595 respectively.

The safety of Kabul also required the occupation of Qandahar which was the key to the north-western position. This place occupies a very strategic position between Afghanistan and Persia and was besides an important centre of trade. "The wisemen of ancient times considered Kabul and Qandahar as the twin gates of Hindustan, the one leading to Turkestan, the other to Persia." In an age when Kabul was part of the Delhi

Empire, Qandahar was indispensable first line of defence. Its enviable position as the mart of the east often made it a bone of contention between Persia and Hindustan. The campaign was opened in 1590, when Akbar proposed to send Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan to attack Qandahar. But the Uzbeg incursion and internal dessensions worsened the position of Husain Mirza's successor Muzaffar Mirza, who surrendered it to Akbar without fighting in 1594 A. D. Thus all the territories of North-West Frontier were annexed to the Mughal Empire.

Akbar's Conquest of Deccan and Deccan Policy :—

After making himself master of Northern India, Akbar turned his attention to the South. In this he followed the traditional policy of the Mauryas, the Guptas, the Khaljis and the Tughlaqs. He was guided by two motives: First, he wanted to annex the Deccan to his empire and to make himself the unrivalled master of India; and secondly, he intended to push back the Portuguese to the sea by capturing the South. "He did not take it wise," remarks Dr. R. C. Majumdar, "to allow them to enjoy for themselves a part of the economic resources of the country and interfere in its politics." Akbar's Deccan policy was not guided by any religious considerations but it was out and out imperialistic in origin and outlook. Further, the distracted state of the Deccan invited his aggression and favoured his long-cherished desire of enforcing his authority beyond the Narbada.

There were five Muslim Sultanates in the Deccan —Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Bidar, Golkonda. Akbar did not concern himself with the territory south of Krishna. Akbar first sought to bring the Deccan Sultans under his control by diplomatic missions. In 1591 he sent embassies to the courts to recognise his suzerainty and to pay tribute. All but the Sultan of

Khandesh refused to pay homage to the Emperor. Akbar was, therefore, determined on war.

The first to bear the brunt of the imperial force was the small state of Ahmadnagar which was torn by internal disputes. Moreover, one of the factions sought Akbar's interference. The imperial army under Prince Murad and Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan besieged Ahmadnagar in 1593. The city was defended with splendid courage and extraordinary resolution by Chand Bibi, queen of Bijapur and her brother Burhanul Mulk of Ahmadnagar. The imperialist generals could not storm the city. They, however, concluded a treaty with Chand Bibi in 1596, according to which Berar was ceded to the Mughals.

But intriguers at Ahmadnagar ousted Chand Bibi and violated the treaty. War was again resumed with the Mughals. Bijapur sent a contingent to help Ahmadnagar but the Mughals gained a victory over the combined army at Supa near Ashti on the Godavari in 1597. Chand Bibi finding herself in the clutches of unscrupulous palace-intriguers entered into negotiations with the Mughals. But her policy was disliked by her own officers who murdered her. "There are few examples of such heroism and self-sacrifice in Mughal history", remarks Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "and Chand Bibi is still remembered for her courageous attempt to roll back the tide of Mughal conquest in the Deccan." The city was stormed without difficulty by the imperialists in August 1600. The whole of Ahmadnagar could not, however, be occupied, till the reign of Shahjahan.

Capture of Asirgarh. At the out set of his Deccan campaigns, Khandesh had submitted to Akbar but Miran Bahadur Shah, the successor of Raja Ali of Khandesh, thought of defying the Emperor from the impregnable fort of Asirgarh. Relieved of the danger of Uzbeg invasion after the death of Abdulla Khan of

Uzbeg (in 1598) Akbar marched towards the Deccan in July, 1599, A. D. Akbar soon captured Burhanpur, the capital of Khandesh and laid siege to Asirgarh in April, 1600, A. D. The fort was capitulated in January 1601, after a siege of full seven months.

As regard the capture of Asirgarh, there is lot of controversy. Dr. Smith is of opinion that Akbar employed treachery to capture the fortress. This, however, cannot be readily accepted in view of the other contemporary evidence to the contrary. Smith ignores the statement of Abul Fazl, Faizi Sarhindi and draws conclution from the statements of the Jesuits. "But there is no reason why the account of the Jesuits should be preferred to that of the Muslim historians. There is an air of unreality about the Jesuit version, which will be easily understood by any used to weigh historical evidence."

Both Abul Fazl and Faizi write that a terrible pestilence broke out in the fortress which caused many deaths. But Dr. Smith disbelieves the Muslim chroniclers whom he accuses of deliberate falsehood, and writes that they invented the story of the epidemic in order to hide the treachery of their patron. Firishta, whose sources for the Deccan history are reliable and trustworthy, supports Abul Fazl, and says that a pestilence broke out which swept off several of the garrison. Hence Dr. Smith's charge against Akbar is false and baseless. "It is true that Bahadur was detained in the imperial camp, that the garrison was enticed by means of bribery, and the Sultan was coerced into writing letters of authority for the garrison to surrender against his will. Probably the emperor was excited to a high pitch by the stubborn resistance of the beleaguered garrison, and found the prolongation of the siege inadvisable in view of Salim's revolt in Northern India. The prestige of the empire also demanded that Asirgarh should be captured by any

means. Considerations such as these urged the emperor to employ bribery to gain his end, and in apportioning blame we ought to bear in mind the difficulties and anxieties of a statesman whose reputation was staked on the success or failure of a single siege."*

As a result of these conquests Akbar's empire extended from Kabul and Qandahar to Bengal and from Kashmir to Ahmadnagar in the Deccan.

Last days of Akbar :—

Though the genius of Akbar reared up and consolidated the great Mughal Empire, he failed in the upbringing of his own children, whose conduct embittered the last days of his life. Two of his sons, Murad and Danyal, died from the effects of the drink. On his return from the Deccan, he had to deal with the rebellion of his eldest son, Salim, whom he had left in charge of the government. Salim seems to have resolved to seize the throne. This was grief enough for the affectionate father, but the unworthy son made it worse by secretly bringing about the murder of his father's dearest friend Abul Fazl. Akbar never recovered from the shock and he died in 1605. Thus ended the career of "one of those illustrious men whom providence sends in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions".

Akbar's Administration :—

Akbar was not only a great conqueror but also an administrative genius. Neither Babur nor Humayun could do much towards stabilising the Mughal rule. The task was successfully attempted by Akbar and he evolved a sound system. His government was humane, tolerant and beneficent. It respected social

* Dr. Ishwari Prasad—"A Short History of Muslim Rule in India."

usages and allowed the villages to enjoy their time-honoured right of self-government. Akbar owes much to Sher Shah. Sher Shah's land survey however incomplete, his extensive construction of roads and establishment of mint towns, must have helped Akbar materially in his administrative organisation. One thing should be noted that the Mughal system of administration was not original. In the language of Prof. Sarkar it was 'Perso-Arabic system in Indian setting.

The Centaral Structure. The king Akbar's government was a centralised monarchy. The head of the administration was the king himself. He was the supreme head of the state both civil and military affairs. He was also the fountain of justice. All important matters relating to appointments, increments, jagirs, mansabs, government grants, orders of payment were submitted before him. Akbar was an autocrat but his authority did not imply irresponsibility. Akbar used to have three daily meetings, one an open court, another concerned with day to day work, and a third which was occupied with discussion not merely of religious matters but also of state affairs. A day was set apart for judicial cases. Thus "his bureaucracy, half civil, half military, admirably served his purpose, and administrative effeciency reached its high water-mark for the first time under Muslim rule. The emperor himself was the guiding spirit of all reforms and policies and it was his master-mind which grasped the minutest details of governments, and made possible the smooth working of the machinery." *

Below the emperor, the *Vakil* was the principal executive officer. The emperor consulted him in all the affairs of government.

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* Dr. Ishwari Prasad—A short History of Muslim rule in India. Ain-i-Akbari—Abul Fazl.

The main departments of the Mughal government were :—(1) Finance under the *Diwan*. (2) The military Pay and Accounts office under the *Mir Bakshi*. (3) The Imperial household under the *Khan-i-Saman*. (4) Judicial under the chief Qazi known as the *Qazi-ul-Quzal*. (5) Religious endowments and charitable grants under the *Sadr-i-Sudur*. (6) Censorship of Public Morals under the *Muhti-asib*. (7) Arlitery under the Mir Atish or *Darogha Topkhanah*. (8) Inlelligencc and Posts under the *Darogha-i-Dakchowki*. (9) Mint under its own *Darogha*.

The *Diwan* was the emperor's lieutenant in all financial matters. He had to keep an account of the income and expenditure of the empire, superintend the imperial treasuries and check all accounts. He was the chief executive officer and had powers of supervision over all other officials, central and provincial. He was also the head of the revenue department. He decided the assessment and collection of reveuue. *Mir Bakshi* was the head of the military department and was the Pay-master of the Imperial army. The *Khan-i-Saman* was the head of the emperor's household establishment and accompanied him during the journeys and campaigns. He looked after the purchase and maintenance of stores, civil and military, including the private purchases of the Imperial household. The *Sadr-i-Sudur* was the head of the ecclesiastical and judicial departments. The *Qazi* was the chief Judge in criminal cases. The *Muhtasib* was the assessors of public morals. He had to stop the practices condemned in the *Shariat* and to prevent immorality.

Provincial Administration. For administrative purpose Akbar divided his Empire into fifteen provinces or Subahs. These were :

(1) Bengal, (including Orissa), (2) Bihar, (3) Allahabad, (4) Oudh, (5) Agra, (6) Delhi, (7) Ajmer, (8)

Multan (including Sind), (9) Lahore (including Kashmir), (10) Kabul, (11) Ahmadabad (Gujarat), (12) Malwa, (13) Khandesh, (14) Berar, (15) Ahmadnagar.

The Provincial organisation was a miniature replica of the Centre in every respect. At the head of each Subah he placed a governor called *Subahdar or Sipahsalar* who was officially known as the Nazim, He was vested with power both in civil and military matters. Being a representative of the Emperor in the province, he was entirely responsible to the Emperor in all matters connected with the province. He could appoint and dismiss officers under his jurisdiction but he could not declare war or conclude treaty without the sanction of the Emperor. Though head of the judiciary he could not inflict capital punishment without the sanction of the Emperor.

The Provincial governor was assisted by a staff of subordinate officers like the Diwan, the *Sadr*, the *Amil*, the *Bitikchi*, the *Potdar*, the *Faujdar*, the *Kotwal*, the *Waqia-nawis*, and the *Qazi*. The Diwan was the head of the revenue department and held charge of civil justice. Besides the financial administration of the province, the function of the *diwan* was to assist the governor in running the administration. He also acted as a check on the governor and prevented the latter from becoming too powerful. When a dispute arose between the two on certain points, it was referred to Central authority for decision. The provincial Sadr was appointed by the Centre. Religious matters and charitable grants were under him. He was more independent than the Diwan in his relations with the Sipahsalar. The Qazis and other judicial officers were under him. The *Amil* was the revenue collector. He was also responsible for the maintenance of general law and order by punishing highway robbery. He had to take all necessary measures for the promotion of cultivation. He was to submit

monthly reports regarding the market price and the economic condition of the people.

The provinces were sub-divided into several *Sarkars* and each Sarkar into a number of *Parganas* or *Mahals.* At the head of each Sarkar was the *Faujdar*, appointed by the Subahdar. The Faujdar's duties were of a military character. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the Sarkar. The *Bitikchi* looked after local accounts and records. The *Kotwal* was essentially a police officer of the towns, he also exercised magisterial authority in certain cases. The *Potdar* or *Khazandar* was the treasury officer. He would receive money but could not make any payment without a voucher signed the Diwan. The *Waqia-nawis* was the recorder of day to day events. Besides these,—there were many other officers, namely, the *Karkuns*, the *Qanungos*, the *Muqaddams* and the *Patwaries.* They were all revenue officers.

Akbar, thus, set up a well co-ordinated system in which different parts of the Empire worked harmoniously. The Central Government controlled the provincial machinery by dividing the authority, and by frequent transfers.

Administration of Justice. The Emperor was the highest court of appeal. His sanction was necessary in cases of capital punishment. He appointed the chief Qazi who appointed sub-ordinate Qazis with his sanction. The Qazi assisted by the *Mufti* and the *Mir-i-Adl* administered justice to the people. The Provincial Governor also tried cases like the Emperor. In case of a difference of opinion between the judicial officers, the decision of the Emperor was final. The revenue cases were tried by the Diwan. The Kotwal was to bring the offenders to the court, and trials were to be held promptly. No culprit could be detained or imprisoned for more than one night without trial. The ancient

village organisation with all its Hindu institutions remained intact. Civil cases of the Hindus regarding inheritance, marriage, etc., were decided according to Hindu religion law.

Army Organisation. Akbar's army was composed of: (I) infantry, (II) artillery, (III) cavalry, and (IV) the navy, The Mir-Bakshi was in-charge of the Military Department. He had to command soldiers in the battle field, fix the salaries of the soldiers and to maintain discipline of the army.

The infantry played a subordinate part. It was mainly of the Banduqchis, swordmen, and guards of the palace. The Artillery was called by the name of Topkhana. Mir-i-Atash or Daroga-i-Topkhana was in its incharge. He had a command over 5000 and he was assisted by an officer called *Mushrif.* Akbar was of a mechanical turn of mind and made several improvements in fire-arms. Cavalry formed the main body of the army. This was the striking force which could move quickly. The *Mansabdari system* was nothing but the organisation of cavalry arm. Akbar paid special attention to it and took all possible pains to increase its efficiency. Horses were branded with different marks. The emperor personally inspected the horses in royal stables. By one regulation, called the *Pa-gosht regulation,* every officer whose horses looked bad, lean or unhealthy was punished.

The Mughals were not a naval power. But they had some small fleet to guard the coastal plains of the Empire, and to help the transport of troops and their war materials. Akbar gave encouragement to the ship-building industry. The incharge of the navy was called the *Amir-i-Bahar* or *Amir-i-Nowwara.* The Mughals did not attempt to building ocean-going navy. They came from a land-locked country. But Akbar's struggle with the Portuguese show that he fully

perceived the importance of building up his naval strength.

Akbar also used elephants in war. The officer who was in charge of the elephantry was called the 'Shana-i-Fil'. The Mansabdars were required to maintain a certain number of elephants.

As regards the total strength of the army, Vincent Smith writes that Akbar did not maintain a large standing army, and his force consisted of three elements namely, the *Ahadis* or gentlemen troopers who had to serve under any Mansabdar, the *Dakhilis* or those who were placed under the command of the Mansabdar, and the *levies* furnished by the Rajput chiefs. Blochman mentions that the strength of the regular army did not exceed 25,000. According to Dr. Horn, the imperial army contained 344,758 cavalry, and 8,877,557 infantry. Under such varying figures, it is difficult to give a correct figure. But we know that Akbar was always engaged either in suppressing a revolt or in making a new conquest. How could he have done so without a large army ever ready for active service. According to modern scholars Akbar's army could not have been less than three lakhs.

Mansabdari System :—

The term *Mansab* means an office, and the *Mansabdar* was an official who was expected to furnish a number of cavalry to the imperial army. The origin of the Mansabdari system goes back to the Mongol army origination ; later it was operated by Sher Shah. When Akbar ascended the throne, the condition of the army was miserably bad. The soldiers were ineffiicent and absolutely unfit for active service. "They lacked discipline and were at best a disorganised rabble." So Akbar introduced the Mansabdari System as the basis of his military organisation. "The only aristocracy in

the land was the military peerage graded acccording to the Mansab. "Again, it is an important feature of the Mughal administration that all civil officers, high and low, were chosen from the holders of the military ranks, i. e., the Mansabdars. So we find that the Mansabdari system is the army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one. The Mansab, although primarily a military rank, really constituted the terms in which official hierarchy, and incidentally social status was expressed."*

Abul Fazl states in his *Ain-i-Akbari* that there were 66 grades of Mansabdars in all, but in real practice there were 33 grades ranging from commander of 10 to commander of 10,000. The highest three grades ranging from 7,000 to 10,000 were reserved for the scions of the royal family. But an exception was made in case of certain officers like Man Singh, Todar Mal, Mirza Shah Rukh and Qulich Khan, who were admitted to the rank of 7,000. They were directly appointed and discharged by the Emperor. The Mansabdars received salaries according to their ranks. Each Mansabdar was required to maintain a certain number of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts according to his rank and dignity. Very often the Mansabdars did not keep the fixed number of soldiers regularly, and deceived the emperor by joining war by untrained and hired soldiers. This heavily told upon the efficiency of the soldiers. Akbar checked this evil by restoring the branding regulation whereby the horses of a Mansabdar were branded with a distinct mark. A master roll or descriptive register was maintained in which the details of every trooper were minutely recorded.

Akbar introduced double rank in the Mansabdari system in the eleventh year of his reign—the *Zat* and *Sawar*. According to Dr. Ishwari Prasad, the Zat was the

* Abdul Aziz, The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army.

personal rank of Mansabdar, but to this was added a number of extra horsemen for which an officer was allowed to draw extra allowances, and this was called his Sawar rank.

The Mansabdari system was thus an interesting institution. It helped to maintain a vast army without an over-centralized organisation of its recruitment. If a trouble broke out in any part of the Empire it could be easily put down by a big army collected on the spot without waiting for the despatch of the Centre. Moreover, as every Mansabdar recruited soldiers from his own clan, loyalty of these men to their chief was assured. This fact also increased the incentive of the soldiers and Mansabdars for fighting, because soldiers belonging to one tribe, and one Mansabdar tried to outshine others for keeping their prospect bright.

But Mansabdari system encouraged tribal consciousness and this occasionally created ill-feeling and rivalry between the different groups of soldiers, which ultimately affected the discipline and strength of the army. Again, the Mansabdari system secured a large degree of decentralisation, So with the weakness of the central authority, the powerful Mansabdars with their army often sided with the rival claimants to the throne. This led to civil war and bloodshed. Moreover, there was no unity in the army. Each regiment followed their own customs and traditions. Often divided command seriously impaired the success of the campaign. Lastly this system proved too costly because the maintenance of a vast army caused heavy expenditure to the state.

Revenue System :—

Akbar's main title to fame rests upon his revenue system which continued to exist with modifications even during the British period. The originator of this

system was no doubt Sher Shah. But Akbar improved and developed the system.

Land revenue was assessed and collected through three principal system—*Ghallabaksh, Nasaq* and *Zabti.* (1) *Ghallabaksh* or crop division. Under this system crops were divided into two shares, one for the state and the other for the cultivator. The cultivator had the option to pay in cash or kind. This system prevailed in Lower Sind, a part of Kabul and Kashmir. (2) *Nasaq.* The Nasak was a ryotwari rather than a Zamindari arrangement. In this system there was no intermediary between the ryot and the state. (3) *Zabti.* The most imp rtant revenue measure of Akbar was the Zabti system. The glory of this achievement was due to his able finance minister, Raja Todar Mal. It extended from Multan to Bihar and in large parts of Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat. The merits of the new settlement lay in its scientific and just assessment based upon systematic and accurate survey. The survey of the entire land under cultivation was carefully done with the Shah's loose rope for measuring lands. Land was classified into four classes: (a) *Polaj* (annually cultivated) (b) *Parauti* (sometimes left uncultivated to increase its fertility) (c) *Chachar* which was lying fellow for 3 or 4 years at a stretch). (d) *Banjar* (left uncultivated for 5 years).

In the *Polaj* and *Paruati*, the state-demand was one third of the gross produce and the cultivators were given the option of paying the state share either in money or kind. But the Emperor preferred the former. Taxes were levied only on lands actually under cultivation and not on land merely occupied. *Chachar* and *Banjar* were dealt with separately. They were taxed lightly." In the first year only 2/5th of usual rate was charged, in the second year 3/5th, in

the third year 5/5th and in the fourth year the full rate was demanded.

The head of the Revenue Department was the Imperial Dewan. The Amil who remitted the revenue to him was assisted by the Bitikchi, the Poddar, the Qanungo, the Patwary and the Muqaddams. They were directed to deal kindly with the ryots and to demand in season. The state also established a chain of store-houses ;in each district to supply with food those animals which were the property of the state; to furnish cultivators with grain for sowing purposes; and have at hand a provision to meet demend in case of famine. Todar Mal anticipated the work of modern Agricultural Banks by granting to be needy cultivators small state loans payable on easy terms for the purchase of oxen, seeds and agricultural implements.

The revenue administration of Akbar, in the language of Dr. Vincient Smith, was an admirable one. It benefited the state as well as the poor cultivators. The definiteness of the state-demand prevented frauds on the part of the revenue officers and also enriched the imperial treasury. The peasants were ensured security of tenure and were relieved of a number of illegal exactions. The result was that agriculture flourished and food was extremely cheap.

Religion of Akbar :—

The sixteenth century was an age of religious ferment all over the word. It was an age of enquiry and doubt, and Akbar was its perfect representative. In Germany, Martin Luther had started the movement against the authority of the Pope. In England Henry VIII. who had died nine years before Akbar's accession to the throne, had declared himself Supreme

Head of the church in his realms. From early days Akbar was deeply interested in religious questions. The catholicity of his temperament and ideals were moulded by various influences. Firstly, from his father he inherited a leaning towards the *Shiah* sect and a dislike for the rigid orthodoxy of the *Sunnis*. Akbar's mother, the daughter of a Persian scholar, taught her the lessons of toleration. Secondly, in his early life Akbar was influenced much by *Sufism*. During his stay in the court of Kabul, Akbar came into contact with the Sufis or Persian mystics, and subsequently the influence of his tutor, Abdul Latif, played an important part in moulding the religious out look of Akbar. Abdul Latif was a broad-minded and tolerant man and made Akbar eager to "attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality." Thirdly, Akbar also came to learn a great deal about Hinduism from his Rajput wives and friends. Lastly, he fell under the influence of Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi. Abul Fazl was one of the great learned men of his time, and led his astray from orthodox Islam. Thus "intelligent to an uncommon degree, with a mind alert and inquisitive, he was best fitted by birth, upbringing and association to feel most keenly those hankerings and that spiritual unrest which distinguished the century in which he lived. He was not only the child of his century, he was its best replica."

Akbar's aims were both religious and political. His political aim of establishing an all-India Mughal Empire had some influence on his religious policy. Just as in England his contemporary, Queen Eligabeth, tried to found a common church which would reconcile Protestants and Catholics, so Akbar sought to found a common creed which would embrace all the religions of his vast Empire. As Dr. Ishwari Prasad remarks,

"Akbar who fully understood the centrifugal tendencies of Indian history saw the need of reconciling the Hindus to Muslim rule, and resolved to shake off the yoke of the canonical order and to evolve a policy which would ultimately lead to the fusion of the two races." But at the same time, Akbar had an eager craving to know the truth. Even the most uncompromising and hostile critic Badauni relates that "he would sit many a morning alone io prayer and melancholy, on a large flat stone of an old building near the (Fatehpur) palace in a lonely spot with his head bent over his chest, and gathering the bliss of early hours." His heart ached to see the conflicts of different religious sects, and he devoted himself "to the evolution of a new religion, which would, he hoped, prove to he a synthesis of all the warring creeds and capable of uniting the discordant elements of his vast Empire in one harmonious whole."[1]

In order to try and arrive at the truth, Akbar built his famous '*Ibadat Khana*' in 1575. He first invited the Ullamas of Islam, but their discussion took the shape of "vulgar rancour, morbid orthodoxy and personal attacks." So, the discussions of the Ullamas failed to satisfy the inquisitive soul of Akbar. He then invited to the '*Ibadat Khana*' the learned men of different religions and sects. The Hinduism was represented by Purshottam and Debi. Many Jaina teachers also took part in discussions and influenced the emperor's out-look. The Parsis or followers of Zoroaster also took part in the religious debates. Perhaps the most interesting of the visitors to Fatehpur Sikri was a little party of *Jesuit* priests from Goa, whom Akbar invited. To all these religious experts, Akbar gave impartial hearing. In a word he displayed boundless curiosity in religious questions and sought to avail himself of every source of information in order to elicit the truth

about religion. But he was not converted to any of these faiths. "It does not appear that the Jesuits did anything more than give intellectual satisfaction to the emperor. Dr. Vincent Smith is undoubtedly guilty of exaggeration when he says that the contribution made by the Christians to the debates at Fatehpur-Sikri was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce the Muslim religion." *

But Akbar was determined to establish his spiritual leadership. This was the first blow at the authority of the Ullamas. He was the Emperor of India and thought that only in this way he could insist on universal toleration. For this purpose he issued in 1579 his famous Infallibility Edict, in which it was declared that the Emperor had the right to decide for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any religious question about which there is a conflict of opinion. But the so-called 'Infallibility Decree' has grossly been misunderstood. Akbar did not found a priesthood. Badauni has criticised some of the regulations issued by Akbar concerning religious matters and customs ; but a close examination of those regulations would show that they were not inconsistent with the fundamentals of Islam. But as a matter of fact he had the power to interpret Muslim Law and not make to make it. The authority of the Emperor was limited and he could not issue order which was in conflict with the Quran.

Din-i-Ilahi. Finally, in 1582, Akbar promulgated a creed of his own, which he termed as the *Din-i-Ilahi* or Divine Monotheism. "It was an eclectic pantheism, containing the good points of all religions—a combination of mysticism, philosophy and nature-worship. Its basis was rational ; it upheld no dogma, recognised no gods or prophets, and the Emperor was its chief exponent." Badauni tells us that the members of this

* Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "A Short History of Muslim Rule of India."

new faith had to make fourfold dedication of property, life, honour and religion to the Emperor. Forms of worship included elements borrowed from the Zoroastrians and Hindus.

The promulgation of *Din-i-Ilahi* was followed by by a number of ordinances which were anti-Islam such as the discontinuance of the *Ramzan* fast, the weekly *Juma* prayers, proscription of Muhammad's name, prohibition of the erection of new mosques and of pilgrimage to Mecca, etc. but such ordinances though irritating did not amount to active persecution. Such an attitude was rather provoked by the implacable hostility of the bigoted Ullamas. In short, Akbar was the most liberal exponent of the principle of universal toleration. His conviction was that there was truth in all faiths; so he did not permit anybody to be persecuted on the score of his religion. *Sulh i-Kul* (peace with all) was the principle he acted upon. But he "never denounced the authority of the Quran, not even in his so-called Infallibility Decree."—said R. C. Majumdar. His excesses to Islam were mainly caused by the orthodox *Ullamas* who exerted "a parallel claim to the obedience of the people.'

The Din-i-Ilahi was not a new religion. Akbar did not promulgate his new faith in the spirit of a missionary nor did he force it upon his subjects. Only about eighteen persons from Akbar's inner circle of friends were admitted.

'It was more a political code prepared by a politician and not a prophet, in accordance with the conditions of the country, the tendencies of the time and the sentiments of his subject.' It was just a political experiment, attempt to put an end to the hostility of the followers of different religion and of uniting them under a common bond. Dr. Vincent Smith, relying on Badauni and the Jesuit fathers speaks of the Din-i-Ilahi in a sneering tone and calls it "a monument

of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom. The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monotrous growth of unrestrained autocracy." Such a remark is uncharitable and betrays a lack of comprehension of the true scope of the Din-i-Ilahi. It has already been suggested that the significance of Akbar's religion was political rather than religious. Akbar made a political use of religion. Von Noer, a German historian, gives a correct estimate of the Divine faith when he writes: "Badauni certainly takes every opportunity of raking up the notion of Akbar's apotheosis for the purpose of renewing attacks upon the Great Emperor."

Needless to say, the religious invention of Akbar greatly displeased orthodox Muslims. Akbar might have ignored the sentiments of the Muslims but it is not correct that he renounced Islam after the promulgation of the his Divine faith. He was sincerely religious and devoted to God, and if Abul Fazl is to be believed, 'he passed every moment of his life in self-examination or in adoration of God.' Dr. Smith's assertion that Akbar was not a Muslim since 1583 is baseless. He draws conclusions from the statements of the orthodox historian like Badauni, who were much dissatisfied with Akbar's innovations, and on the accounts of the jesuits who were hopelessly disappointed in their attempt to convert Akbar into Christianity and so made irrelevent remarks about Akbar. Out of catholicity and broad-mindedness Akbar showed sincere regards for every religion and this led many to think that Akbar renounced Islam. Even Dr. Smith admits that Akbar "went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable grounds for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jaina or a Christian." Father Monserrate writes that Akbar peroformed *Namaj* and fasted 30 days during the month of Ramadan.

Akbar's Policy towards the Hindus :—

Akbar was a gifted politician and a far-sighted statesman. Neither Babur nor Humayan could do much towards stabilising the Mughal rule. The task was successfully attempted by Akbar who realised very early in his reign that Mughal power could last in India only if it was broad-based. Akbar, therefore, tried to give effect to a policy of religious toleration. He treated the Hindu Rajas on an equal footing with the Muslim chiefs. His first measure in this direction was the abolition of the *Jizya* and the tax on the Hindu pilgrims. He encouraged intermarriages between the Muslims and the Hindus. He himself set the example by marrying Hindu woman. He appointed qualified Hindus to the highest civil and military offices, like Bhagwan Das, Man Singh and others, who obtained very high ranks in the Mughal peerage and were treated with distinction. Akbar followed the policy of universal religious toleration (*Sulh-i kul*). He issued an ordinance against the forcible conversion of Hindus. Hindu learning was encouraged, Hindu temples allowed to be freely erected, Hindu religious fairs permitted to be freely held and Hindu population was not subjected to any special fiscal burden. He got the religious books of the Hindus, as *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* and the *Gita*, translated into Persian. The Emperor also tried to gain the good-will of the Hindu subjects by participating in some of their festivals and functions. Such a wise and tolerant attitude towards a conquered people is rare in history. He tried to eradicate the evils prevailing in the Hindu society. He discouraged child marriage, permitted widow re-marriage and prohibited the compulsory immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands.

The policy of Akbar was basically sound but he had gone too far in placating the Hindus. He failed to see that Muslim aristocracy was and would long continue to be the main prop of Muslim power in India and that, whatever the numerical strength of his Hindu subjects, they were not in a position to exert a decisive influence on the course of history.

Architecture, Art and Literature :—

Akbar was a great builder, and his buildings combine the solid and impressive dignity of the early Sultans of Delhi with motives borrowed from Hindu architecture. His favourite material was red sandtone. Some of the chief buildings of his reign are the fort at Agra, the tomp of Humayan, and his 'dream city' of Fatepur Sikri. He loved painting and music. He had none of the scruples felt by orthodox Muslims about the representation of the human form, and gave court painters every encourgement. Some of these came from Persia, and others were Indians. Between them they evolved a new and very beautiful style, which was further modified by the influence of the Italian paintings introduced by the Jesuit fathers. Illuminated and illustrated manuscripts, portraits of celebrated people, and frescoes to adorn the walls of the palaces were produced. Among the musicians who found liberal patronge at Akbar's court, the greatest was Tansen of Gwalior.

Literature flourished. Among Persian writers, the most noteworthy were the historians Badauni and Abul Fazl. Abul Fazl's brother Faizi, the poet laureate, translated the *Bhagavad Gita* into Persian verse, and wrote many religious poems. Akbar had a splendid library. Among Hindi poets, Tulsi Das was very prominent. Others were Sur Das, the blind poet of Agra and an enthusiastic devotee of Krishna, and Rahim, the son of Bairam Khan.

Estimate of Akbar :—

Akbar was unquestionably the greatest of all rulers of India of all ages. It was an age of great monarchs—Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France and Shah Abbas of Persia—but in many reepects he surpassed them all. He was the real founder of the Mughal Empire. He was the first Muslim king whose rule struck roots into the soil. The secret of his success as an empire-builder lay in his breadth of vision which made his out-look liberal and statesmanlike. He was the first, if not the only, Indian monarch to aspire to ruling a united people rather than to leading a dominat race. Very early in life he adopted and practised the principle of universal toleration when all the rulers of Europe showed fanaticism and intolerance towards the rival religions. His grand idea was to place before the country the vision of a homogeneous nation, a nation that would be neither Hindu nor Mussalman but Indian.

Akbar was a great organizer, and was the founder of a sound system of administration. Akbar's government was paternal and he was indefatigable in the supervision of all the details of his administration. His ideal of kingship was high. He built the political structure of the Mughal Empire and the administrative system on the co-operation and good-will of all his subjects. He not only meted out fair treatment to the Hindus and appointed them to high posts, but also tried to remove all distinctions between the Muslims and the non-Muslims. Todar Mal's revenue settlement was the chief glory of his reign. At the same time, he did his best to abolish evil customs prevailed among Hindus, like child-marriage and Suttee. He forbade the enslavement of the prisoners of war, abolished the *Jizya* and the pilgrim taxes. He abolished *Jizya* and pilgrim taxes. A great conqueror as Akbar was, he defeated his

enemies, suppressed the rebels, and annexed numerous territories. But he did not like unnecessary blood-shed. He did not ignore the feelings of the conquered and trample on their rights and privileges.

Akbar was a man of many interests. Though he was illiterate, he had an insatiable thirst after knowledge. Possessed of a fine literary taste, a profound intellectual curiosity and a marvellous memory, he took keen interest in different branches of learning. He knew a great deal of philosophy, theology, history and politics. He maintained a large library in his palace which contained books on various subjects. He was fond of the society of learned men who read books to him. Dr. Smith writes. "Any body who heard him arguing with acuteness and lucidity on a subject of debate would have credited him with wide literary knowledge and profound erudition and never would have suspected him of illiteracy." Both art and literature received his patronage. Among the great writers of his time were the two brothers *Faizi* and *Abul Fazl*, and the three notable historians, *Badauni*, *Ferista* and *Nazimuddin*. Akbar loved calligraphy and employed a large number of skilled calligraphists in his service. He was fond of music and song. Akbar's architectural achievements are best attested by numerous beautiful buildings still standing at Fatehpur-Sikri. They are still admired by visitors. The fort at Agra is characterised by a happy blending of Hindu and Muslim styles.

From all points of view, his reign forms one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Indo-Pakistan. Smith says, Abkar "was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest known to history."

CHAPTER XIV

JAHANGIR
(1605—1628)

Accession of Jahangir :—

Prince Salim had been indicated by Akbar on his deathbed as his successor, and he now ascended the throne under the title of Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi. "His liberal education, his natural shrewdness and strong commonse," remarks Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "well qualified him to carry on the statesmanlike policy of his father." The new monarch began his career by popular acts and he tried "to win the hearts of the people by various measures." He promised to uphold the honour of Islam, to forgive those who had supported the claims of Prince Khusru, and to maintain justice. These undertakings were accompanied by the celebrated twelve ordinances which the Emperor commanded to be observed as rules of conduct *(dasturul-amal)* in his wide dominion.[1] Having secured his position, Jahangir celebrated the first *Nauroz* of his reign with great splendour in March, 1606. A. D.

Revolt of Khusru. The first important event of his reign was the rebellion of Khusru. During the closing years of Akbar's reign a number of prominent

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1. 1. Prohibition of cesses (*Zakat*). 2. Regulations about highway robbery and theft. 3. Free inheritance of property of deceased persons. 4. Prohibition of the sale of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquor. 5, Prohibition of seizure of houses and of cutting off the nose and ears of criminals, 6. Prohibition of forcible seizure of property. 7. Building of hospitals and appointment of Physicians to attend the sick, 8. Prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain days. 9. Respect paid to Sunday. 10. General confirmation of Mansabs and Jagirs. 11. Confirmation of aima lands. 12. Amnesty to all prisoners.

nobles like Raja Man Singh and Aziz Koka had formed a conspiracy against the accession of Salim and actively supported the cause of Khusru. However, the attempt ended in failure and a reconciliation was made between father and son. But this reconciliation was merely on the surface, and Jahangir was compelled to keep Khusru 'in a sort of semi-confinement within the fort Agra.' Five months after the accession of Jahangir, Khusru escaped from the Agra fort, reached the Punjab and rose in rebellion. Jahangir marched without delay against his son with a large army. A battle was fought at Bhairowal, and Jahangir was easily victorious. Khusru was captured while attempting to cross the Chenab with a view to proceeding to Kabul. His prominent supporters were barbarously put to death. The Sikh Guru Arjun who helped the rebel Prince was executed* and the Prince was thrown into prison. Khusru lived till 1622 when he died under awful circumstances.

Nurjahan :—

The marriage of Jahangir with Nurjahan is one of the most importans event of the Mughal history. That gifted lady was the daughter of a Persian refugee, Mirza Ghiyas Beg, who came to India with his family in the reign of Akbar, and rosed in high position. Her maiden name was Mihrun-nisa. Tradition envelopes Nur Jahan's career in a systematic romance. But modern reseaches have discarded these romantic legends. She was married, at the age of seventeen, to Ali Quli Beg surnamed Sher Afghan, who, on Jahangir's accession, was appointed governor of Burdwan in Bengal.

* The execution of the fifth Sikh Guru, Arjun, was guided by purely political consideration. But unfortunateiy, the Sikhs made this execution as a religious cause and became hostile to the Muslims. From then on they continually rebelled against the Mughgls.

In 1607, Sher Afghan incurred the displeasure of Jahangir for his disobedience and insubordination. He was summoned to the court to explain his conduct and on his refusal to obey the imperial orders, Qutb-uddin, the governor of the province, was sent to chastise him. In the action both of them lost their lives. The widow of Sher Afghan was sent to Agra, and four years later (in 1611), Jahangir married her and made her his chief queen. The Emperor conferred on her the title of Nur Jahan (light of the world). It is some times said that Jahangir had been in love with Mihr-un-nisa "when she was still a maiden during the life time of Akbar," and procured the murder of Sher Afghan in order to satisfy his long suppressed desire. This legendry tale has been invented by the later historians. Dr. Beni Prasad has conclusively proved that this is a myth. No contemporary writer, not even the European travellers who have recorded even the minutest event in the imperial harem, have referred to the matter.

Nur Jahan was a remarkable woman. With a commanding intellect, she was most highly educated woman. She was fond of poetry and wrote verses which are still admired. She was the mistress of most feminine accomplishments, and had great taste in art, which inspired her to introduce a change even in the fashion of female dress. She was equally generous in granting helps and giving alms to the poor and maintained many poor and orphan girls.

Nur Jahan completely dominated her husband by her charm and rosy freshness. Her ruling passion was love of power, to obtain which she was quite unscrupulous. Together with her father, Ghiyas Bag, now entitled Itimadudaula, and her brother, Asaf Khan, she formed a 'palace party' which supported Prince Khurram who was married to Asaf Khan's daughter.

This party virtually ruled the empire until in 1622 when Khurram's revolt against his father seperated him from it. The 'palace party' of Nur Jahan was not unopposed. The opposition comprised many of the old nobles, headed by Mahabat Khan. The view of the opposition was that the empire was virtually ruled by a woman and that, Jahangir was disgracefully subservient to his wife. "Few women in the world's history," remarks Dr. Iswari Prasad, "have displayed such masterful qualities of courage and statesmanship as this extraordinary woman, who held her husband in leading strings and dominated the state for a number of years."

The early political career of Nur Jahan was very successful one. She worked hard and no detail of administration escaped her vigilant eye. Never did her activity, resourcefulness and energy became more manifest than in the hour of danger. The rebels were crushed, administration was smoothly maintained and some new territories were conquered. But after 1622, her reputation began to wane. She freely made use of her power to promote the interests of her family and assisted a crowd of greedy relatives to enrich themselves at the expense of the State. Moreover, she wanted to place her son-in-law Shaharyar to the throne. This led to serious trouble and politics became faction. The revolts of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan were the immediate results of her intrigues. Qandahar was lost to the Mughal Empire and the Mughal army was defeated in the Deccan. She was responsible for the troubles that darkened the last years of Jahangir's reign.

His Conquests :—

Subjugation of Bengal. In 1612, a rebellion occured in Bengal headed by an Afghan chief Usman Khan. He made a determined attempt to restore Afghan rule

in that province, but his rebellion was suppressed by Shujat Khan, an officer under Islam Khan, the governor of the province. In March 1612, Shujat Khan defeated and killed Usman and this was the last Afghan rebellion in Bengal.

Submission of Mewar. Amar Singh, who in 1597 had succeeded his father Pratap Singh, would not acknowledge the Emperor's supremacy, and Jahangir followed his father's policy of harassing him. In the very first year of his reign, Jahangir sent against Mewar an army of 20,000. An undecisive battle was fought. In 1608, Mahabat Khan conducted a campaign in which he was successful in the field, but was unable to reach the remote fastnesses of the Rajputs who were thus left unsubdued. In 1609 Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdullah Khan who managed the campaign very well but had to be transferred to Gujarat and thence to the Deccan.

In 1613 Jahangir transferred his court to Ajmer, and appointed his third son Khurram to the command of the army assembled for the conquest of Mewar. The operations of the Prince were successful and the proud Rana was compelled to submit (1614). He acknowledged the overlordship of the Emperor and agreed to contribute a contigent of 1000 horses to the imperial army. He allowed him to retain his territory in tact and exempted him from personal attendance at court. The Rana's son, Karan, was appointed to a high military command in the imperial army. Jahangir subsequently placed two life-size marbles statues of the Rana and his son in the garden of his palace at Agra. Dr. Iswari Prasad rightly remarks, "Jahangir's conduct in this affair is wholly worthy of praise. Mewar had given the Mughals no small amounts of troubles but the Emperor forgot the past and adopted a conciliatory policy in dealing with the Rana."

Conquest of Kangra. Another notable achievement of Jahangir's was the conquest of Kangra. The fortress of Kangra is situated in the hill of the north-east Punjab. This fortress had long defied the might of Akbar, and Jahangir occupied it after a long seige of 14 months. But this conquest became temporary and the war-like hillmen continued the struggle till the death of Jahangir.

His Deccan Campaigns. The Deccan next engaged Jahangir's attention. Following the imperialistic policy of his father, Jahangir wanted to enforce his authority there. But all his efforts ended in failure due partly to the quarrels amongst his own generals and partly to the ability of Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian by birth and a Deccani by adoption. Affairs in the Deccan then were dominated by Malikh Ambar. With great administrative capacity, an excellent judgement and considerable military skill he was the central figure in the Deccan history for two decades. He developed the military strength of the Nizamshahi kingdom.

In 1610 Ambar had recovered Ahmadnagar and the Mughal force was compelled to retreat to Burhanpur. He transferred capital to Kharki, and organising guerilla Maratha bands in large numbers continued to offer opposition to the Mughal opposition. He concluded an alliance with Bijapur and Golkonda as the best means of foiling the Mughals. The Mughals assumed the offensive in full vigour in 1611 but they were forced to retreat. In 1612 the Khan-i-Khanan was reappointed to the command. He captured and burned Kharki, and to some extent retrieved the disgrace which the imperial arms had suffered earlier. In the autumn of 1616 Prince Khurram was placed in charge of Deccan affairs. Jahangir moved his court from Ajmer to Mandu, in order to be near the seat of war.

Khurram succeeded in detaching Adil Shah of Bijapur from the Deccan confederacy. Ahmadnagar was recaptured and other strongholds were formally delivered in 1617. After the conclusion of the treaties, Khurram returned to Mandu. He was then at the height of his fame. He was promoted to the command of 30,000 horse a rank never before conferred, and received the title of Shah Jahan, or king of the world.

In 1620 Malik Ambar broke the treaty of 1617 and renewed his alliance with Bijapur and Golkonda and swept over a considerable portion of Mughal Deccan, He even besieged Burhanpur. Shah Jahan was re-appointed. Malik Ambar was compelled to evacuate all the imperial posts which he had occupied, to retire to Daulatabad and to submit to Shah Jahan. The three kingdoms of the Deccan were obliged to pay *nazarana* amounting to five millions of rupee. In August 1621, on receiving the news of his father's illness Shah Jahan returned to the headquarter. After the return of Shah Jahan, Malik Ambar resumed the hostility and continued it till his death in 1626.

Rebellion of Shah Jahan :—

About 1622 Jahangir's health began to fail, and intrigues for the succession broke out with redoubled vigour. The Emperor had four sons, Khusru, Khurram, Parvez and Shahariyar. Khusru, as we have seen, was murdered, Khurram was supported by his father-in-law Asaf Khan, and Parvez by another great noble, Mahabat Khan. Nur Jahan was anxious that Prince Shahariyar, Jahangir's youngest son, who had married her daughter by her first husband, should succeed to the throne.

In 1622 Shah Abbas, the King of Persia, recaptured Qandahar. A Mughal expedition was promptly organised to recapture the lost city, and Shah Jahan

was once more appointed commander-in-chief of the expeditionary forces. His appointment was on this occasion chiefly due to Nur Jahan who was determined to secure his removal from the imperial court, so that she might take advantage of his absence to deprive him of the succession. The Prince got a scent of the plot and refused to comply with the order. The intrigues of Nur Jahan at last succeeded. Jahangir deprived Shah Jahan of all posts and fiefs. Failing to convince his father of his innocence he at last raised the standard of rebellion. Prof. J. N. Sarkar puts the blame entirely on Nur Jahan. He writes: "From 1622 till almost the end of his father's reign Shah Jahan was under a cloud: the infatuated old emperor, entirely dominated by his selfish and imperious consort Nur Jahan, deprived Shah Jahan of his posts and fiefs, and last drove him to rebellion in self defence."

By way of retaliation Shah Jahan marched upon Agra with the intention of seizing the imperial treasury. Mahabat Khan was sent against the rebel and the first decisive battle between the imperialist and Shah Jahan was fought at Balochpur to the south of Delhi (1623) in which the rebels were defeated. Shah Jahan now retired towards the Deccan and prayed help from Malik Ambar and then from the ruler of Golkonda, but they refused to give him shelter. Being disappointed he marched across Telingana into Orissa which was a Mughal province. Then he reduced the whole of Bengal and Bihar. But in his attempt of capturing Oudh and Allahabad Shah Jahan was dafeated by the imperial forces. He again retired to the Deccan. His followers began to desert him. Shah Jahan found it difficult to make a headway against the imperialists under such circumstance. So, he begged forgiveness of his father and sent his two sons Dara and Aurangzeb as hostages to the court. The only result of his rebellion was the loss of Qandahar.

Rebellion of Mahabat Khan :—

Nur Jahan next attempted to get rid of the best general, the renewned Mahabat Khan, whose growing influence with the army she had begun to fear. The death of Khusru and humiliation of Shah Jahan once again encouraged Nur Jahan to revive her claim for the succession of her son-in-law, Shahariyar. The only other rival was Parwez who was at this time closely associated with Mahabat Khan. This made Nur Jahan very suspicious. With a view to curb the power and influence of Mahabat Khan, Nur Jahan separated him from Parvez and ordered him to go to Bengal. He was asked to furnish an account of the large sums which had come into his hands from the dismissal of disloyal fief-holders. It appeared to him that his ruin was imminent. Thus the queen's hostility drove him to rebellion. Jahangir and Nur Jahan were at that time on the way to Kabul. On the banks of the Jhelum Mahabat Khan surrounded the imperial camp with his Rajput horsemen and captured the Emperor, intending to secure his own terms. Nur Jahan managed to escape, but all her attempts to rescue her husband by force having failed, she joined him in confinement. At last Nur Jahan succeeded in releasing her husband by a strategam. Mahabat Khan ultimately ran away to Shah Jahan. But Nur Jahan's success was short-lived, for Jahangir died on the 28th October, 1627.

Estimate of Jahangir :—

Jahangir is one of the most interesting figures in Indian history. As a man he has been described a mixture of opposites. Edward Terry writes of him : "Now for the disposition of that king it ever seemed unto me to be composed of extremes : for sometimes he was cruel and at other times he would seem to be exceedingly fair and gentle." His was a cruel age, and he

was subject to violent fits of rage. "But it would be wrong to conclude," remarks Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "that he had a thirst for bloodshed, or that he took delight in tormenting the human species. There is evidence to prove that he was highly generous and charitable." He was kind and sympathetic, humane and considerate to his subjects. In the opinion of Dr. Beni Prasad, he was "a sensible and kind-hearted man, with strongly family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and a passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as prince and emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of cruelty. But, as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and an open mind."

As an administrator he followed the broad policy of his father. He was a great lover of justice and meted out even-handed justice irrespective of high or low. Law and order were not neglected even in the remote parts of the empire. Capital punishment was not rashly or hastely carried out. He removed some vexatious transit duties and taxes, and made an attempt to prohibit traffic in eunuchs. But the weakness which seriously interfered with the efficiency of the administration was his willingness to allow himself to be controlled by Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan.

Jahangir was an able and gifted man, and his 'Memoirs' show him to have been an excellent writer of Persian, a painter and a lover of nature. His Memoirs is a brilliant proof of his literary attainments. "Anyone who reads his Memoirs will be convinced of his power of expression, his scientific spirit, his inquisitiveness and the accuracy of his observations." Jahangir loved architecture and built several remarkable buildings.

Jahangir seems to have been indifferent in religious

matters. Sir Thomas Roe denounced him as an atheist. Dr. Smith calls his religion something like "vague deism." None of these opinions is wholly true. He retained intact his faith in God, and said his prayers like a Muslim. He was tolerant to all religions but did never accept the practices of the Hindus, the Parsees or the Christians.

In the opinion of a modern historian, Jahangir is "a typical autocrat, a warm-hearted friend and generous patron, a lover of nature and its wonderful beauty, a cherisher of ease and indolence with faults and virtues strangely intermixed. There is much in his character that deserves to be condemned, but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian history."

The Portuguese and the English and accounts left by Europeans :—

When Jahangir came to the throne, he showed great favour to the Jesuits, and was on friendly terms with the Portuguese at Goa. In 1608 the East India Company sent to Surat a fleet of merchantships, on board of which was Captain William Hawkins. Hawkins went to Agra, and there, being able to talk Turki, he became for a time very popular with the Emperor. Hawkins was anxious to obtain for the East India Company permission to set up a factory at Surat, but the Jesuit Fathers, who had influence in the court and hated the English, both as trade rivals and as Protestants were bitterly opposed to this. In 1613, the authorities a Goa seized four Mughal ships. This led Jahangir to adopt certain harsh measures towards the Portuguese. Henceforth, the English began to enjoy the favour and sympathy of the Emperor.

Of the English travellers who visited India during his reign the following are the most important: (1)

William Hawkins (1608—1613), (2) William Finch (1608—1611), (3) Nicholas Willington (1612—1616), (4) Thomas Coryat (1612—1617), (5) Thomas Roe (1617—1619), (6) Edward Terry (1616—1619). Among them Thomas Roe, the duly accredited ambassador of James I, the king of Great Britain, was a shrewd politician and diplomat. He succeeded in baffling the intrigues of the Portuguese and obtained the sanction of Jahangir for the construction of a British factory at Surat.

Foreign Account of Jahangir's reign :—

Hawkins left an account of Jahangir's daily life. He also referred to the administrative system. According to him Jahangir was cruel and unpopular and often took pleasure in inflicting inhuman punishments. He also liked to witness cruel sports such as fights between man and animals. But the emperor was a stern lover of justice. He also mentions about the drinking habit and intemperance of Jahangir The account of Hawkins should be read with caution as he left the court in disgust.

Sir Thomas Roe gives us an excellent picture of the court of Jahangir and the political intrigues of the time. He speaks in high terms of the magnificence of the court and the courtesy of the nobility. He testifies to the wealth and pomp of the Mughal court. But in his estimation the nobles were corrupt and unprincipled. Roe remarks that the Emperor was cheerful and possessed dignified manner. Roe mentions about the Deccan warfare, intrigues of the party of Nur Jahan, the Emperor's apprehension of a civil war for accession after his death and the warning given to him for reducing their scale of business in India.

"The people of india," Roe observes, "live as fishes do in the sea—the greater ones eat upon the little ;

for the farmer robs the peasants, the gentleman robs the farmer, the greater robs the lesser and the king robs all." Roads were not safe for the travellers and merchants. The fine arts were in a flourishing state. Roe also speaks highly about the standard of Mughal painting.

CHAPTER XV

SHAH JAHAN
(1628—1658)

Accession of Shah Jahan :—

When Jahangir died (in 1627) Shah Jahan was in the Deccan, and Prince Shahariyar declared himself the Emperor at Lahore. But Asaf Khan, father-in-law of Shah Jahan, took immediate steps to safeguard son-in-law's interests. He sent a speedy message to Shah Jahan and in the meantime raised to the throne a son of Khusru, under the title of Dawar Baksh. He used him as a figure-head until he should be able to proclaim Shah Jahan. He then marched on Lahore and defeated Shahariyar who was imprisoned and blinded. In the meantime Shah Jahan reached the capital, deposed Dawar Baksh and ascended the throne on January 1628, with the title of Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Muhammad Shah Jahan Padsha Ghazi. The unfortunate Dawar Baksh was permitted to escape to Persia. Nur Jahan was allowed to live in retirement on a sufficiently liberal pension until her death in 1645. Asaf Khan was made minister, and retained that office until his death in 1641.

Early Rebellions. There were two more rebellions during the first two years of his accession. In the first year of his reign, Raja Jhujhar Singh Bundela had shown a rebellious and turbulent spirit. He was, however, subsequently chased to death,

In the second year of his reign a formidable rebellion was headed by the Afghan Pir Lodi, entitled Khanjahan, who had for some time been governor of the southern provinces of the empire. When Shah Jahan left Junnar on his way northwards to assert his claim to the throne, he entered into alliance with the Sultan

of Ahmadnagar and gave considerable troubles to the Mughals. Shah Jahan soon sent an army to suppress the rebellion. Haunted from place to place by the imperialists, he was ultimately defeated at Tel Sehonda, in the north of Kalanjar in 1631. He was then put to death with his sons.

War with the Portuguese. The Portuguese settlers had established a warehouse at Hughli in Bengal where they had prospered under the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. In the reign of Shah Jahan they abused these favours so shamelessly that the Emperor was compelled to interfere in their privileges. They offended the Mughal authorities by exacting heavy duties from the local merchants, and they created consternation by kidnapping children whom they converted to Christianity. Furthermore the Portuguese did not shrink from practising piracy. Thereupon Shah Jahan gave orders that they should be expelled. In 1632 Hughli was besieged and was finally taken. Some of the besieged escaped in boats, but the greater number were either killed or captured.

Famine in the Deccan and Gujrat 1630-32. From 1630 to 1632, a terrible famine raged in the Deccan and Gujarat. Abdul Hamid Lahori has left a detailed account of its horror. "The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it, the everbounteous hand was stretched out to beg for food; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contenment walked about only in search of sustenance. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and flesh of a son was preferred to his love."

The imperial authorities did what they could: soup kitchens were established, a large sum was distributed

in charity, and big remessions of land revenue were made.

His Deccan Policy :—

The war in the Deccan, which had been going on since the days of Akbar, continued. The existence of the independent kingdoms in the Deccan on the very borders of the Mughal empire was an eye sore to Shah Jahan.

In his aggressive policy towards the Deccan, Shah Jahan was more successful than both Akbar and Jahangir. Akbar could only conquer Khandesh and annex a portion of Berar. Jahangir's attempt to conquer Ahmadnagar was successfully checked by its able minister Malik Ambar. But circumstances had now changed. Malik Ambar was dead, a destructive famine had famished the people. Ambar's son Fateh Khan, who succeeded to his father's office, proved a traitor to the cause of his countrymen.

Shah Jahan was looking for an opportunity to attack Ahmadnagar and the help which the ruler of Ahmadnagar rendered to the rebellious chief, Khan Jahan Lodi, gave him a pretext to turn his arms against it. In 1630 the imperial forces besieged the fortress of Parenda but failed to take it. But Fateh Khan, the son of Malik Ambar, betrayed the cause of Ahmadnagar. He killed his master, placed a boy king named Husain Shah on the throne and went over the Mughals. He, however, was not at all sincere in his friendship with the Mughals. When the Mughals besieged the fortress of Daulatabad in 1631, he defended the fortress against the imperial troops. But the pressure of the Mughal army as well as the tempting offer of bribe induced him to surrender the fortress. Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Mughal Empire in A. D. 1633, the Nizam Shahi dynasty was thus brought to an end.

Shah Jahan then turned his attention towards Golkonda and Bijapur. In the year 1635, when Shahaji made an unsuccesful attempt to revive the Nizam Shahi dynasty by setting up a Nizam Shahi boy on the throne, the rulers of these states secretly helped him. This greatly offended the Mughal Emperor. He sent them written command to acknowledge his suzerainty, to pay tribute and to abstain from helping Shahaji. Overawed by these, the Sultan of Golkonda acknowledged the suzerainty of Shah Jahan and also agreed to have the Khutba read and the coins struck in the latter's name. But the Adil Shah of Bijapur refused to submit to the Mughal Emperor and made a preparation to resist the Mughal aggression. Innumberable Mughal soldiers encircled the territory and the Mughal generals led attack from three sides. Adil Shah was compelled to sue for peace (1636). He acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor, agreed to abstain from helping Shahaji Bhonsla. In return the Sultan got portions of the territory of the Ahmadnagar kingdom. "Thus after forty years of strife (1595-1636)," writes Sir, Jadu Nath Sirkar, "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled."

Peace having been thus restored in the Deccan, Shah Jahan left the province. The unwieldy region of the Deccan was divided into four provinces :—(1) Ahmadnagar with Daulatabad, (2) Khandesh, (3) Berar, and (4) Telingana The viceroyalty of the four provinces was conferred by Shah Jahan on Aurangzeb, then eighteen years of age.

Deccan Affairs under Aurangzeb's Viceroyalty :—

Aurangzeb was appointed as viceroy of the Deccan in 1636 A. D. His first term of viceroyalty lasted from 1636 to 1644. During this period the young viceroy was engaged in various minor operations. He captured

the district of Baglana, lying between Khandesh and the Surat coast and compelled Shahaji to submit. But Aurangzeb was much embarrassed in his Deccan administration for want of provision and money, and for the hostility of his elder brother Dara Shukoh. The latter poisoned the ear of his father against Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb found it difficult to carry on the Deccan administration and maintain his self respect and resigned in disgust. Abdul Hamid Lahori gives a different story, when he writes that "misled by the wicked counsels of his foolish companions, Aurangzeb wanted to take to the retired life of an ascetic and had also done some acts which the Emperor disapproved of." The real reason of Aurangzeb's retirement, as found in his letters, was owing to Dara's jealous interference with his work and Shah Jahan's partiality to his eldest son.

Aurangzeb was re-appointed in 1652. He found the Deccan in a state of deplorable condition. The whole administration of the land had fallen into utter confusion. The revenue had fallen off and the cultivated area had decreased. Aurangzeb realized the situation and devoted himself to the improvement of the state. He could secure the service of a revenue officer of rare ability in Murshid Quli Khan. As Aurangzeb's Dewan in the Deccan, Murshid Quli Khan extented to the South Todar Mal's system of survey and revenue assessment. Small advances were made to the cultivators to enable them to buy seeds and agricultural implements. He re-peopled deserted villages and restored normal life.

Having thus re-organised the internal administration, Aurangzeb turned his attention towards the rich states of Golkonda and Bijapur. He wanted to secure the immense riches and resources of these two states. Golkonda was very fertile, its capital Hyderabad was

the centre of the world's diamond trade, and its monarch Qutb Shah was rich, weak and worthless. It was Golkonda that Aurangzeb first attacked. Excuses for attack were not lacking. Golkonda, already a tributary to the Mughal empire, had been frequently in arrears in payment of the stipulated tribule. Meanwhile Mir Jumla, a Persian adventurer who rose to be the chief minister of Golkonda, fell out with his master and entered the Mughal service. The affair of Mir Jumla precipitated a war in 1656. With the permission of the Emperor, Aurangzeb marched towards Golkonda, and the campaign was short and swift. Prince Muhammad Sultan, Aurangzeb's son, attacked Hyderabad. Qutb Shah fled to Golkonda. The Mughals were about to capture it, but the intervention of Shah Jahan under the influence of Dara Shukoh, prevented it. Peace was concluded on 30th March, 1656. The Sultan of Golkonda agreed to pay to the Mughals an indemnity of ten lacs of repees, to cede the district of Rangir, to give his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Shah, and also a promise was extorted from the Sultan to make his son-in-law his heir.

Next came the turn of Bijapur. Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur died in November 1656. He was succeeded by his young son, Ali Adil Shah II. Aurangzeb reported to his father that Ali Adil Shah was not a son of Muhammad, but a supposititious child who had been enthroned by the intrigues of the late king's minister and his widow. Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla attacked Bijapur with the permission of the Emperor and made a considerable headway. But the increase of power and prestige of Aurangzeb again roused the jealousy of Dara who persuaded the Emperor to put an end to the war. Shah Jahan ordered Aurangzeb to make peace on the cession of the forts of Bidar, Kalyani and Parenda and the payment

of an indemnity of ten millions of rupees. Soon afterwards Shah Jahan fell ill and further operations in the Deccan had to be suspended.

Shah Jahan's Central Asian Campaigns :—

Disaster in Balkh. The house of Timur regarded Transoxiana as its ancestral home, and, ever since Babur's expulsion from Farghana, had longed to recover the original domain of its great ancestor. Abdul Hamid Lahori writes : "ever since the beginning of his reign, Shah Jahan's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan, which were hereditary territories of his house, and the keys to the acquisition of Samarqand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Timur." Circumstances had also favoured him. Nazar Muhammad, the incompetent ruler of Balkh and Badakhshan, mismanaged the affairs of the State. Rebellions broke out everywhere. Even his own son Abdul Aziz had revolted against him and invited Shah Jahan to help him. In 1646, Shah Jahan sent a large army under the joint command of Prince Murad. The campaign was successful and both Balkh and Badakhshan were occupied. But Murad was soon recalled as he behaved in an undisciplined way and Aurangzeb was sent with a large army to consolidate the conquests. But the Uzbegs offerred such a strong resistance that all his efforts ended in a disastrous failure and he decided to evacuate Balkh (1647). The enterprise caused heavy loss in men and materials.

Loss of Qandahar. Qandadar, the great bone of contention between Persia and the Mughals, had been conquered in 1622 by the Persians but in 1638 it was surrendered to Shah Jahan by its governor, Ali Mardan Khan, who joined the Mughal service and was promoted to high rank. The failure of the Mughals in Central Asia encouraged Shah Abbas II of Persia to recaptuie

Qandahar. The Mughal prestige demanded that Qandahar must be won back. Shah Jahan at once sent an expedition under Aurangzeb and Sadullah Khan with an army of 60,000 horses and 10,000 foot (1649). But the campaign ended in failure due to the superior military preparations of Persians. A second attempt was made in 1652 by Aurangzeb and Sadullah Khan but it also ended in failure. A third attempt was made in April, 1653, under the leadership of Dara Shukoh. He had some success in the beginning but ultimately failed to re-occupy Qandahar.

The campaigns of Shah Jahan against Qandahar cost the imperial treasury about 12 crores of rupees without increasing to the territory of the empire by an inch. Their failure ruined Mughal prestige and enhanced proportionately the military prestige of Persia. As a result throughout the seventeenth century, the danger of a Persian invasion kept the rulers of Delhi in a state of chronic anxiety and suspense.

The War of the Succession (1657-1600) :—

The death of a Mughal Emperor was always the signal for the outbreak of intrigues, ending in wars of succession. In September, 1657, Shah Jahan fell dangerously ill, and all his sons forthwith engaged in fratricidal war for succession.

Shah Jahan had four sons. Dara Shukoh, the eldest, was Shah Jahan's favourite. He lived at Agra and was associated with the central government. "Because of Shah Jahan's excessive fondness for him he never acquired experience in the arts of war and government ; he never learnt to judge men by the crucial test of danger and difficulty ; and he lost touch with the active army. * He was learned but arrogant. The second son Shuja, who was governor of Bengal and

* B P. Saksena—Shah Jahan.

Orissa, was too much deep in love of pleasure which made him "weak, indolent and negligent, incapable of sustained effort, vigilant caution, and profound combination." The third son, Aurangzeb, was the fittest of the brothers in this struggle of survival. "He possessed," remarks Dr. R. C. Mujamdar, "uncommon industry and profound diplomatic skill, and an unquestionable capacity for administration." The youngest Murad Bakhsh ruled over Gujarat. He was a good soldier but was addicted to excessive drinking and, therefore, lacked in the qualities for leadership.

The illness of Shah Jahan was a signal for the outbreak of fratricidal war. Dara alone was present at Agra when Shah Jahan fell ill and his evil machination precipitated the crisis. He took the opportunity of his father's illness to secure the throne for himself. He closed the roads of Bengal, Ahmadabad and the Deccan against messangers and travellers so that they might not carry information to those provinces. The sympathisers of his brothers in the capital were imprisoned. Then he recalled the ablest generals and officers of his empire at the capital and directed them to march against his brothers. "It was openly said all over the empire that Shah Jahan was really dead......some even asserted that Dara had wickedly flung his helpless father into prison and was doing him to death." * Dara transacted all public business in the Emperor's name. Shah Jahan sufficiently recovered by the middle of November, 1657. The war could he prevented, if Shah Jahan had asserted his authority and contradicted the death news. But at this critical juncture the silence of Shah Jahan further worsened the situation. Owing to his unbounded love for Dara, he connived of his evil designs and even directly helped him against his brothers

Events moved very fast. Murad crowned himself at

* Sir. G. N. Sarkar. Short History of Aurangzeb.

Ahmedabad in December, Shuja also proclaimed himself Emperor in Bengal. But Aurangzeb was more cautious and calculative in his proceedings. Shuja was the first to march towards the metropolis of the empire. The imperial army met Shuja's force at Bahadurpur, near Banaras, on February 14, 1658, and defeated it. Being compelled by the course of events, Aurangzeb decided to march to the north to see his father personally. Aurangzeb had already entered into a solemn treaty with Murad that, in case of success, the latter would get the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir and Sind. Thus the combined troops of Aurangzeb and Murad marched towards the north. Raja Jawant Singh of Jodhpur and Qasim Khan were sent by Dara to opppose them. The hostile armies met Dharmat on April 15,1658, where the imperialists were signally defeated.

Aurangzeb then crossed the Chambal and met an imperial army of 50,000 soldiers under Dara himself. A fierce battle ensued; Aurangzeb and Murad both displayed unexampled courage in fighting, and inflicted heavy losses on Dara's men. No victory was perhaps more complete and no defeat was perhaps more disastrous than this. Filled with despair, Dara fled towards Agra. Aurangzeb entered Agra, imprisoned his father and assumed the reins of government in his own hand (8 June, 1658 A. D.)

After his victory, Aurangzeb restored Bengal and Bihar to Shuja, but the latter could not check his ambition of becoming the Emperor of India. But his hopes were shattered when Aurangzeb signally defeated him at Khajwah, near Allahabad, on the 5th January, 1659. Mir Jumla chased him to Bengal, and he escaped to Arakan in May 1660. Nothing was heard of Shuja again.

Aurangzeb was now the practical master of the empire. But the civil war was not yet over. Murad broke the terms of alliance with Aurangzeb and conspired

against his authority. "Flattering courtiers fanned the young prince's jealousy and ambition and prompted him to assert himself······in opposition to Aurangzeb."[1] Aurangzeb imprisoned Murad in the fort of Salimgarh. He was sent later on the fort of Gwalior, where he was tried for the murder of his Diwan, Ali Naqi, and was executed in 1661. A. D.

Dara once again collected a large army and offered a battle to Aurangzeb. It was a hotty war and Aurangzeb once again defeated him. After this defeat Dara fled to Ahmadabad and then retreated to Sind with a view to flying to Persia. Malik Jiwan, a Baluchi chief of Dara, whose life he had once saved, was approached for shelter. But Malik Jiwan treacherously surrendered him to Aurangzeb. He was executed on a charge of apostacy. Dara's son Sulaiman also met the same fate. Shah Jahan remained confined in the Agra fort until January 22,1666, when he died a natural death. Thus ended the prolonged civil war and Aurangzeb emerged victorious.

Estimate of Shah Jahan :—

Shah Jahan had reigned for thirty one years, during which time the empiie reached the height of its glory and wealth. Soon after his accession to the throne he successfully fought with the Portuguese and captured Hughli. He waged war against the Persians and Golkonda and Bijapur. It was under Shah Jahan, the Mughal army came into conflict with the Ahoms of Assam and thus extended the boundary of the empire as far as Kamrup.

As an administrator Shah Jahan enjoyed a well-deserved reputation for justice and clemency. He did much to alleviate sufferings of the people during the terrible famines which devasted the Deccan and the Gujarat

1. Sir, J. N. Sarkar—Short History of Aurangzeb.

in 1630-32. He availed himself of the services of Murshid Quli Khan, who was a revenue officer of great skill, and who did for Shah Jahan what Todar Mal had done for Akbar. Murshid Quli Khan extended Todar Mal's system of assessment to the Deccan with the result of vast increase of revenue. The Emperor made a point of supervising with strictness the civil government of the country. The result was that agriculture and commerce flourished. His reign enjoyed almost uninterrupted peace save for one or two isolated revolts. In the opinion of the Emperor's latest biographer, B. P. Sexena, in Shah Jahan's reign, "the Mughal Empire attained to the zenith of prosperity and affluence." The contemporary historian, Khafi Khan, also extols his good administration. The accounts of European travellers also throw a lurid light upon Shah Jahan's administration. The French traveller, Tavernier, says that Shah Jahan ruled "not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children." The Italian traveller Manucci, characterises Shah Jahan's government as the "most perfectly". Dov also speaks of the clemency of Shah Jahan's rule and his solicitude for the well-being of his subjects. But Dr. Smith, who is perhaps self-conceited by a desire to prove betterness of the British rule in India, speaks of Shah Jahan's justice as "the unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion."

The most prominent trait of Shah Jahan's character was his love of pomp and magnificence. He reign has been called the 'Golden Age' of the Mughal Empire. He was a passionate lover of art. He was a builder of cities and palaces. The capital of the empire was transformed from Agra to Delhi, planned and erected under the Emperor's supervision. The

Taj Mahal and the *Pearl Mosque* at Agra and the great *Jamma Masjid* at Delhi are works of unsurpassed architectural skill. Shah Jahan's court was one of the unsurpassed magnificence. "All these lead one to believe that peace and prosperity prevailed through out the Empire." Shah Jahan was also a liberal patron of letters and learning. Scholars and poets were encouraged. Of the celebrated historians and poets who flourished in his reign, the names of Abdul Hamid Lahori, author of Padshanama, Inayat Khan, author of Shah Jahan Nama, Muhammad Salih, author of Amal Salih, Abul Qasim Irani and Mirza Ziauddin may be mentioned here. Shah Jahan's possessed a dignified manner and royal disposition. But the brightest feature in his character as a man was his intense love for Mumtaz Mahal.

But underneath this glamour of pomp and magnificence, his reign exposed some weaknesses which eventually led to the downfall of the Empire. The failure of the three Qandahar campaigns exposed the military weakness of the empire and lowered its prestige. His reign also witnessed the rise of the Marathas and the beginning of the British territorial acquisition in India. He was responsible for the war of succession among his sons which disturbed peace of the empire, led to bloodshed, disunity, civil war and the death of some worthy commanders. The heavy expenditure entailed in carrying out costly military campaigns and projects of arts and architecture must have also caused a heavy drain upon the exchequer.

CHAPTER XVI

AURANGZEB

(1658—1707)

Accession and Early Measures :—

Aurangzeb, having successfully disposed of all his rivals, was formally crowned in Delhi, with the title of *Abul Muzaffar Mohiuddin Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir Padshah Ghazi*, in May 1659. His long reign of fifty years falls into two nearly equal parts. From 1659 to 1681 he was mostly in northern India, leaving the affairs of the Deccan to his viceroys; from 1681 to his death he was in the Deccan, engaged in his attempt to subdue the Marathas.

He began his rule by restoring the Muslim lunar calander and discontinued the *Ilahi* era of Akbar. To alleviate the distress of his subjects, Aurangzeb abolished many oppressive taxes and cesses. To lower the price of food, the duty on corns was also remitted. With a view to stop corruptions the governors were transferred from one province to another.

His Frontier Engagements :—

The North-Eastern Frontier. The Mughal frontier had been pushed in 1612 to Goalpara and Kamrup in western Assam. But taking the advantage of the war of succession the Ahoms had violated this frontier, and the Raja of Cooch Bihar had also defied Mughal authority. Mir Jumla was appointed Viceroy of Bengal with orders to punish the Ahoms. In November 1661, Mir Jumla started from Dacca, annexed Cooch Bihar and entered Assam. In March, 1662, the invading army reached Garhgoan, the Ahom capital. The Ahom king, Jaya-dhwaj Singh, being put to flight, the Mughal fleet

completely annihilated Ahom naval power. So far the operations of Mir Jumla were successful. But Nature came to the rescue of Ahoms. The rainy season enabled the Ahoms to attack the isolated Mughal outposts. The imperialists suffered terribly from unhealthy climate and lack of provisions and medicine. An epidemic broke out in the Mughal camp. When the rainy season was over, Mir Jumla resumed the offensive and forced the Ahom king to conclude treaty with the Mughals. The Ahom king agreed a pay a heavy war indemnity and an annual tribute and to cede some districts. But this success of Aurangzeb was not permanent. Mir Jumla died on his way to Dacca in March 1663. After his death the Ahoms recovered the ceded districts and even wrested Kamrup from the Mughals in 1667.

After Mir Jumla, the Emperor's maternal uncle, Shaista Khan, was appointed governor of Bengal. He was engaged in expeditions against Assam and Arakan, and in clearing out the rests of pirates round the deltas of the Ganges, Brahmaputra and at Chittagong. He conquered Chittagong from the king of Arakan in 1666. Shaista Khan also conquered the island of Sandwip in the Bay of Bengal.

The North-West Frontier. Operation against the turbulent tribesmen,—the Afridis, the Yusufzais, the Khattaks and others,—of the North Western Frontier were less successful. They gave the Mughals as much trouble as they did the British in later times. Aurangzeb first tried to win over them by payment of money but to no effect. In 1667 the Yusufzais suddenly revolted under one of the leaders named Bhagu. This rising was, however, suppressed soon.

In 1672 the Afridis rose in revolt against the Mughals under their leader Akmal Khan. He proclaimed himself king and summoned other tribes to join his standard. Akmal Khan defeated the imperial commander Amin

Khan at Ali Masjid in May, 1672 A. D. Amin Khan and some of the senior officers escaped to Peshawar, but ten thousand Mughal soldiers were slain and more were captured. The situation was worsened by the rising of another tribe named Khattak under their poet chief Khushhal Khan. The movement was fast becoming a Pathan national rising against the Mughals. In 1674 Aurangzeb appointed Shujaat Khan to quell the rebels. Jaswant Sing was to co-operate with him. The combined forces of the Pathans inflicted a crushing defeat on Mughals and Shujaat Khan was killed in action. So great was the danger that Aurangzeb went there to visit the frontier in person. Now Imperial diplomacy became as active as Imperial arms. The situation was sufficiently improved by the end of 1675 and the Emperor returned to Delhi leaving Amin Khan to govern Kabul. Amin Khan was a very shrewd diplomat. He conciliated the Afghan chiefs, set one clan against another, broke up the confederacy under Akmal and bribed profusely. But the Khattak hero, Khushhul, continued the struggle until his own son betrayed him to the Mughals.

Aurangzeb was no doubt successful in suppressing the Afghan risings and in restoring imperial prestige, but their indirect effects were prejudicial to the interests of the empire. It was ruinous to imperial finance. Its political effect was even more harmful. As Sir J. N. Sarkar observes: "It made the employment of the Afghans in the ensuing Rajput war impossible. Moreover, it relieved the pressure on Shivaji by draining the Deccan of the best Mughal troops for service on the north west frontier. The Maratha chief took advantage of this division of his enemy's strength to sweep in a dazzhing succession of triumphs." Thus the Afghan troubles indirectly contributed to the success of the Rajputs and the Marathas.

Aurangzeb's religious policy and the Hindus :—

It has been alleged that Aurangzeb was a bigot to whom the religion of the great majority of his subjects was anthema, misbelief, and idolatry, which it was his duty before heaven to persecute, and if possible to stamp out. Further, a charge has been brought that he deliberately pursued the policy of converting *Dar-ul-harb* (non-Muslim lands) into *Dar-ul-Islam* (Lands of Islam). But a critical and unbiased analysis of the facts will reveal to us that these charges are false and baseless.

Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzeb was a good Muslim and his religious policy was by no means influenced by any consideration of worldly gain. Aurangzeb, being a true follower of Islam, could not indulage in religious persecution. It is equally hard to believe that Aurangzeb issued orders to destroy the temples and schools of the Hindus, rather some of temples which were built during his reign are still standing. *Padshanama* and *Muntakhib-ul-Lahab* have mentioned that Aurangzeb destroyed some temples, because they were the centres of sedition and political intrigues. The statement of Mustamid Khan, the author of *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, that the Emperor ordered all the governors of the province to destroy the temples, has not been supported by any other contemporary Persian chronicler. Upon this statement later historians have built up the theory of the persecution of the Hindus. There are evidences which speak eloquently of the tolerant spirit of Aurangzeb. The 'farman' addressed by Aurangzeb to Abul Hasan, the governor of Benaras is self-explanatory. "Since...... all our upright intentions are engaged in promoting the public welfare and bettering the conditions of all classes, high and low, therefore, in accordance with our Holy Law, we have decided that ancient temples shall not be overthrown ..... No person shall in an unlawful way

interfere with or disturb the Brahmins and the other Hindu residents in these places, so that they may as before, remain in their occupation and continue with peace of mind to offer prayer for the continuance of our God-given Empire."*

It is true that Aurangzeb imposed the Jizya on the non-Muslim subjects about twenty years after his accession. Its reimposition was no doubt disliked, but there can be no denying of the fact that the Emperor was actuated by economic and political considerations rathar than religious bigotry. Throughout his reign Aurangzeb had nothing from the Hindus but distrust, criticism, disloyalty and revolts. He became convinced that the Hindus were treating him as if he were an intruder, a foreigner and unworthy of their loyal regard. Since he could not depend on them for war service, those who did not fight were made subject to the Jizya. Thus it was not a tax "on the free exercise of religion."

It is equally untrue that Aurangzeb dismissed Hindu officials and forbade their appointments. Aurangzeb made certain dismissals in the larger interest of administration. There were a good number of Hindus who occupied key posts in the Civil and Military departments of the State during his reign. In many important battles of Aurangzeb, Hindu generals were in command. It is interesting to note that Hindu officials like Jaswant Singh, Jay Singh, Ram Singh and others who fought against Aurangzeb, were pardoned and restored to their offices. The revenue department was solely managed by the Hindus. In face of these facts, the charge that he dismissed Hindu officials falls to the ground.

Aurangzeb is one of the few monarchs who have been much misunderstood and to whom history and

* Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal and Waqai-Alamgiri.

historians have done scant justice. Since the days of Akbar the tie of Islam has been slackened to a large extent. Aurangzeb was a strict Muslim and he wanted to bring back the waning glory of Islam without disturbing the fundamental rights of others and hence he has been painted by the historians as the persecutor of Hinduism. It is a good fiction but bad history.

Risings of Hindus. The Hindus had grown very powerful during the reign of Akbar and during the liberal regimes of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The policy of Akbar re-kindled in the heart of the Hindus the ambition to become the master of the land once again by over-throwing the Muslims. Hindu revivalism reached its climax during the later part of Shah Jahan's reign when the Hindus rallied round Dara. But the defeat of Dara had greatly disappointed them. It is said that Aurangzeb's bigotry was responsible for the Hindu Revivalist movement. But there is little doubt that even if there had been no Aurangzeb the Hindu Revivalist movement would have come. They broke out in rebellions whenever any occasion arose.

The first to rise were the Jats of Mathura. When Sayyid Abdun-Nabi, the Fawjdar of Aurangzeb, built a Jami Mosque in Mathura, the Jats under Gokla, a local zamindar, revolted there in 1669 A. D and killed him. The rebellion was suppressed and Gokla was put to death. But they again created troubles in 1686 under the leadership of Raja Ram. Raja Ram was, however, defeated and slain. But the Jats found a more efficient leader in Churaman who carried on large-scale operation against Aurangzeb till the end of his reign.

Another armed protest against Aurangzeb came from the Bundelas, a Rajput clan settled in the tract which derived its name (i.e., Bundelkhand) from them. The Bundela chief Champat Rai revolted against

Aurangzeb in the early part of his reign. He escaped capture by committing suicide. His son, Chhatrasal, joined the Mughal service in the Deccan. Afterwards, he left the service, became the leader of the discontented Hindu population of Bundelkhand and eventually carved out for himself an indepentent principality in eastern Malwa.

Another serious rising broke out in what is now known as Patiala state by a Hindu sect known as the Satnamis in 1672. The immediate cause of their rising was the murder of a Satnami peasant by a Mughal foot-soldier. The rebels plundered Narnaul, destroyed mosques, and killed the Mughal Faujdar. They were easily suppressed with ruthless severity.

The Sikhs also revolted against the Mughals. Har Govind, the sixth Guru (1605-45), warged constant war against the imperial troops. In the reign of Aurangzeb, the ninth Guru Tej Bahadur raised the standard of revolt against the Mughal authority. He was defeated, arrested and executed. His son and successor Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru (1675-1708), organised them into a body called the Khalsa. He transformed the Sikhs from a peaceful religious sect into a military brother-hood. Guru Govind fought against the Mughals but was defeated and his two sons were put to death.

The Policy of Aurangzeb towards the Rajputs. :—

The policy of Aurangzeb towards the Rajputs has been a subject of severe criticism. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has assigned three main factors which determined the Rajput policy of the Empire. Firstly, the commercial importance of Marwar demanded its annexation to the Mughal Empire as the shortest trade route from Delhi to the city of Ahmadabad and the port of Cambay lay through it. Secondly, the Emperor wanted to divide Rajputana into two unequal halves and to take Udaipur

historians say, on 19th February, 1630. His father Shahji entered in the service of Bijapur in 1630 and he moved to his new *jagir* with his second wife Tuka Bai. Shivaji was left with his mother, Jija Bai, to live at Poona under the guardianship of an able Brahmin, Dadaji Kond-Dev. Dadaji brought him up as an orthodox Hindu. Jija Bai, a lady of virtuous temperament and extra-ordinary intellect, exercised a great influence on her son. "If ever great men owed their greatness to the inspiration of mothers," wrote Ranade, "the influence of Jija Bai was a factor of prime importance in the making of Shivaji's career." He gathered round him the hillmen of the Western Ghat, called the Mawalis, and showed great skill in organising predatory expeditions.

The growing weakness of the Bijapur State greatly favoured the designs of Shivaji. He had already embarked upon his career of adventure and peril. He captured the fortress of Torna from Bijapur in 1646, built a new fort at Rajgarh, and took Kondana from a Bijapur agent. His activities enraged the Sultan of Bijapur who put his father Shahji under arrest. According to another view, Shahji was imprisoned for his own insubordination. However, Shivaji sought the intervension of Murad and got the help of the leading nobles of Bijapur court. Shahji was released on condition of his son's good behaviour. Shivaji kept quiet for some years (1650-55). He, however, resumed the offensive operations in1656 when he annexed Jawli by procuring tho murder of its ruler. The conquest of Jawli opened his door to the South.

In 1657 when Aurangzeb opened his compaign against Bijapur, Shivaji got an opportunity to raid the Mughal territory as far as Junnar and Ahmadnagar. An imperial army was sent againat him and Shivaji was defeated. When Adil Shah concluded peace with

Aurangzeb, Shivaji also submitted to him. Aurangzeb never trusted Shivaji but he had to hasten to the North on hearing of his father's illness.

Between 1657-59 Shivaji turned his attention to the North Konkan, captured Kalyan, Bhiwandi and Mahuli. But on Aurangzeb's departure from the Deccan, the Sultan of Bijapur was free to plan the subjugation of Shivaji. In 1659, Afzal Khan, a noble of rank and an experienced general, was sent against him. In an interview that took place between Afzal Khan and Shivaji, the latter was murdered by the former. The Marhata authories have charged Afzal Khan for the incident while Khafi Khan, a contemporary Muslim historian and Grant Duff[1] accuse Shivaji of having treacherously murdered Afzal Khan. It was an "open murder", and not a „preventive murder" as some historians assert. The Bijapur camp was plundered. Shivaji was now master of the Deccan.

Shivaji and the Mughals. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb had become Emperor, and he determined to reduce the bold rebel to submission. He sent his maternal, Shaista Khan, to the Deccan to restore order. Shivaji was defeated and the port of Chakan was captured. Next the Mughal Viceroy occupied Poona and the Kalyan district of the Konkan. Shivaji patched up a truce with Bijapur and made himself free to face the Mughals. Next in 1663 Shivaji boldly raided Shaista Khan's headquarters in the night and the unlucky Viceroy barely escaped with his life. His son, Abdul Fatah, was put to death. This exploit greatly enhanced Shivaji's power. He then sacked and plundered the rich port of Surat and carried off an immense booty.

Shaistya Khan was recalled from the Deccan and transferred to Bengal. Aurangzeb then sent a second army under the command of Diler Khan and Jai

1. Grant Duff—History of the Marahatas.

Singh against Shivaji (1665). Besides being a tactful and brave general Jai Singh was a shrewd deplomat. He proceeded catiously against the clever Maratha chief. He stirred up the enemies of Shivaji so that the Marathas might be attacked from all possible quarters. Having prepared the ground by his diplomacy he laid siege to the fort of Purandhar. Maratha efforts to raise the siege were frustrated. Such a steady pressure was maintained on all sides that Shivaji was compelled to come to terms. Shivaji concluded the treaty of Purandhar with Jai Singh in June, 1665. He ceded to the Mughals twenty three of his forts and lands yielding annually 4 lakhs of hun, (I hun= Rs. 4) retaining only twelve for himself. He also promised to supply a contingent of 5,000 horses for service under the Emperor. Further, he agreed to help the Mughals in their wars against Bijapur. This treaty was a great diplomatic triumph for Jai Singh.

Jai Singh next turned his arms against Bijapur in which Shivaji also joined. But this campaign ended in failure. Hence he thought it expedient to induce Shivaji to go to the Imperial court, with a view to prevent a possible combination of the Deccani Sultans with Shivaji. But Mr. Sardesi[1] is of opinion that Shivaji agreed to go the Imperial court to guage the strength of the Mughals, as it was necessary for carrying into effect the grandiose plans of conquest which was revolving in his mind. Being assured of his safety Shivaji with his son Shambhuji started for Agra. He was properly honoured at the Mughal court but for his insolent conduct Aurangzeb kept him under surveillance. Shivaji, however, escaped by a stratagem from Agra and reached the Deccan in November, 1666, in the guise of a mendicant.

During the years 1667—69, Shivaji kept quiet but

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1 Sardesai, "Main Currents of Maratha History."

he utilised the period in reorganising his internal administration. Aurangzeb granted him the title of Raja, and a jagir in Berar was assigned to his son Shambhuji. But war was renewed in 1670. Shivaji recovered several of his forts and looted the rich port of Surat for the second time. He defeated the Mughal general Daud Khan and made raids into Berar and Baglana. His campaigns against the Mughals in 1671—73 were successful. In June, 1674, he formally crowned him king at Raigarh with great pomp and ceremony and assumed the title of "Chhatrapati."

Meanwhile the Mughals were heavily engaged on the North West Frontier, and Shivaji made full use of his power. He made peace with Bijapur and Golkonda. He took the strong fortresses of Jinji, Vellore and Bellary, and made his half-brother, Ekoji, the ruler of Tanjore to surrender half of his territory (1677). The operations of 1677 and 1678 brought him territory in the Carnatic. He suddenly died on April 3, 1680.

Estimate of Shivaji. Shivaji was one of the greatest men of his age. As a guerilla leader, an organiser and administrator, he was equally talented.

Shivaji's Administration. Shivaji was a great organiser, and did his best to introduce settled government into the Deccan. As the biographer of Shivaji, Mr. Rawlinson remarks: "Like nearly all great warriors... Shivaji was also a great administrator, for the qualities which go to make a capable general are those which are required by the successful organiser and statesman." His government was autocratic, of which the king was the supreme head. He was assisted by a council of eight Ministers (Ashta Pradhana), of whom the head was the *Peshwa* or Prime Minister. The others were in charge of finance, foreign affairs, the army department, records, religious matters and justice. A regular assessment was made. Tribute in the form of Chauth, or

'one quarter', and Sardeshmukhi, or an extra tenth, was levied on foreign territories overrun by the Maratha troops. Shivaji prevented his ministers and generals from becoming insubordinate by paying them from the treasury, instead of assigning jagirs. He refused to allow any office to become hereditary. He was a strict disciplinarian.

Shivaji divided his kingdom into several provinces (prant), each of which was subdivided into paraganas and tarafs. The village was the lowest unit, and each village had its headman or Patel.

It would be unjust to describe Shivaji as an assassin and a robber, mean-spirited and without any sense of honour, as some historians have done. Aurangzeb, who had good reason to dislike him, gave him a better character. "He was a great captain," he wrote, "he persisted in rebellion, plundering caravans and troubling all men. But he was guiltless of baser sins and scrupulous of the honour of the Muslim women and children when they fell into his hands." A high standard of morality marked his private conduct. Shivaji was a devout Hindu and was honoured as the champion of Hiduism and was tolerant of all creeds. He enforced strict discipline amongst his men with regard to the treatment of women and children.

Aurangzeb and the Deccan :—

The great ambition of Aurangzeb was to extend the Mughal dominions in the Deccan, where he had once been Viceroy for his father. Edwards and Garret rightly remarked : "He (Aurangzeb) was following the policy of aggressive imperialism, initiated by Akbar in the 16th century and encouraged by his successors, Jahangir and Shah Jahan." During the first half of Aurangzeb's reign his attention was engrossed with affairs in the north, and the Deccan

was left to the Viceroys. But the rapid decline of the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda and the unchecked growth of the Maratha power at their expense created a new political situation in the Deccan. The rise of the Maratha power was a challenge to the Mughal Empire. The situation was further aggravated by the flight of the rebellions Prince Akbar to the Maratha king, Shambhuji. Thus the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was determined by three factors : the annexation of the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda ; the removal of the danger caused by the presence of his rebel son, Prince Akbar in the court of Shambhuji ; and the suppression of the Maratha power. The Deccan campaigns of Aurangzeb were never guided by religions fanaticism is well-illustrated by the fact that many Shia nobles lived in his court and Mir Jumla, a Shia Muslim, was his most trusted and efficient general. Not religious fanaticism but aggressive imperialism may be said the real cause behind his campaigns in the Deccan.

With the end of the Rajput war in 1681 Aurangzeb felt himself free to turn his attention to the Deccan. He directed his arms against Bijapur and Golkonda. Bijapur was besieged in April, 1685, and captured in September, 1686. Golkonda was besieged in and captured in 1687. Thus the Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda were annexed to the Mughal Empire and this was a great blunder as Smith says : "All historians agree in pointing out the impolicy of the destruction of the Sultanates, which annihilated the only Muslim governments in the South, let loose a swarm of discharged soldiers to plunder the country, and freed the Maratha chiefs from any fear of local rivalry."[1] Aurangzeb has been blamed for the absorption of Bijapur and Golkonda ; it has been argued that these

1. Dr. Smith—The Oxford History of India.

Muslim kingdoms might have helped him in crushing the Marathas. But it is doubtful, whether the decadent Sultanates could have stood successfully against the new-born Maratha people. However, in conquering Bijapur and Golkonda and in trying to conquer Maratha State Aurangzeb pursued what was the natural trend of Mughal foreign policy.

War with the Maratha renewed. After the fall of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, Aurangzeb concentrated his whole energy against the Marathas. Shivaji was succeeded by his eldest son, Shambuji, who had none of the genius of his father. Shambuji took up the cause of the Marathas but was defeated, captured and executed in March 1689. His capital Rajgarh fell into the hands of the Mughals. This was the high watermark of Aurangzeb's success against the Marathas. His territory now extended from Kabul to Chittagong and from Kashmir to the Kaveri.

The Marathas soon rallied round the banner of Rajaram, Shambuji's younger brother. Rajaram took shelter in the strong fort of Jinji in the Carnatic which became the centre of Marathas' enterprise. There was no Maratha Central Government. Every Maratha captain harrased the Mughals. "Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha government or state-army for him to attack and destroy."

It was from 1690 that the tide completely turned against Aurangzeb. Two enterprising Maratha generals, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav, made incessant raids. Rebellions broke out in every corner of the empire. Rajaram organised a powerful army and raided the Mughal provinces of the Deccan. The Emperor now personally took charge of operations and showed wonderful energy in capturing several forts—Satara, Parli, Panhala, Khelna, Kondana (Singhgarh), Rajgarh, Torna and Wagingera. Rajaram died in

1700 and was succeeded by Shivaji III. The Regency was taken up by Rajaram's widow, Tara Bai. She successfully withstood Aurangzeb's final attempt to conquer the Deccan, and it was during her Regency that the Mughal armies were forced to retire into Ahmadabad. Worn out by the indecisive Maratha war, the Emperor fell seriously ill and died on February 20,1707, at Ahmadnagar.

Aurangzeb's Deccan policy thus failed He indeed conquered Bijapur and Golkonda but it did not strengthen his power and position. His prolonged warfare with the Marathas "exhausted his treasury, demoralised army and dislocated the whole administrative system which depended upon a too close-personal supervision" His long absence in the far-off Deccan threw administration of Northern and Central India into disorder. Thus, Dr. Smith remarks that "the Deccan was the grave of his reputation as well as of his body."

Estimate of Aurangzeb :—

Aurangzeb was a man of extra-ordinary character. Some historians have taken into consideration mainly his faults, and not his good qualities, which they have mostly ignored. His resolution, his honesty of purpose, his devotion to duty, his love of Islam, his modesty and his scholarship were acknowledged by all. He was, infact, one of the enlightened rulers of the Timurid family.

He saw with disgust the corruption which was sapping the moral of his people. He himself lived with the utmost austerity, wearing only the simplest clothes, and observing strictly the fasts and hours of prayers prescribed by Islam. He was never a slave to his passion and completely abstained from indulging in prohibited food, drink or dress. He has been blamed

for his policy against the Hindus. It is forgotten that the Hindus were rising from a centuries-old sleep and were claiming more than any monarch of that age or even of a later age could give them without a fight. The Sikh and Marathas, when they rose against the Emperor, were rebels against him and he treated them as such.

Aurangzeb has been charged for his cruelty to his father and brothers. "There is no reason," remarks a historian, "why he should be singled out for severe strictures for the manner in which he secured the throne. In this, he was simply following the example that had become almost traditional in the Timurid family in India." Though Shah Jahan was kept a state-prisoner in the Agra Fort, he was looked after well. Khafi Khan tells us that Aurangzeb consulted him on various occasions and accepted his advice. It would be equally unjust to throw on him the responsibility for the war of succession.

Aurangzeb had a high respect for his office. Painstaking and methodical, he attended to most things himself. He was a very just man and spared neither himself, his sons, nor his subordinates. Foreign travellers as well as the Muslim chroniclers described with admiration his marvellous industry in administration. He personally read all petitions and passed orders on them with his own hand. A learned and competent scholar he was largely responsible for the great digest of Muslim Law made in India bearing his name, *Fatuwa-i-Alamgiri*, which has regulated Islamic justice in India ever afterwards.

As a general Aurangzeb had few equals. "Undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose, and ceaseless activity were some of his prominent qualities." The war of succession, the suppression of the rebellions and the Deccan campaigns give sufficient proof of his unusual

courage and his ability and capacity as a soldier and general. He rearly lost a battle. "Of diplomacy he was a past master, and could not be beaten in any kind of intrigue or secret manipulation. He was as much a master of the pen as a master of the sword."

Thus Aurangzeb had many qualities. He was a brave warrior, a shrewd diplomat a just and tolerant monarch, and a profound scholar. "He had been by far the most powerful of the line ; he had ruled wider territories and commanded vaster armies than Akbar."—said Lanepoole.

How far Aurangzeb was responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire. The prejudiced historians alleged that Aurangzeb was responsible for the fall of the Empire. They have alleged that the religious policy of Aurangzeb had alienated the sympathies and supports of the Hindus from the Mughal rule. As a result the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats and the Marathas rose in revolt against the Mughals and hastened the fall of the Empire. But the fact was that the Hindus rushed to raise the standard of revolts even in the days of Akbar, and the might of Sikhs and Marathas were strongly felt even during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. So the blame for the Hindu uprisings cannot be laid on the shoulder of Aurangzeb. The 17th century was an age of Hindu Revivalism and Aurangzeb had to face it. He was successful to a great extent to frustrate the hopes of the Hindu revivalists. Had there been one more Aurangzeb, India would have had a different history. But his successors were too weak to cope with the situation. It is further alleged that the Deccan policy of Aurangzeb was another factor for the fall of Empire. But Aurangzeb had simply followed the policy of his predecessors in the Deccan.

Genealogical Table of the Mughals

- 1. Babur (1526—30)
  - 2. Humayun (1530—39, 55—56)
    - 3. Akbar (1556—1605)
      - 4. Jahangir (1605—27)
        - Khusrau
        - Parwez
        - (5) Shah Jahan (1627—58)
          - Dara
          - Shuja
          - 6. Aurangzeb (1658—1707)
          - Murad
        - Shahariyar
      - Murad
      - Daniyal
    - Mirza Muhammad Hakim
  - Kamran
  - Hindal
  - Askari

CHAPTER XVII

THE DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Successors of Aurangzeb (1707—1857) :—

Bahadur Shah (1707—12). On the death of Aurangzeb the usual war of succession broke out between his sons, and was ultimately decided in favour of Prince Muazzam (Shah Alam), who defeated his brothers and was crowned as Emperor with the title of Bahudar Shah. He was too old to prevent the decline of the Empire. His chief fault was his negligence of business which earned him the nickname of the "Headless king". Bahadur Shah died in 1712.

Jahandar Shah (1712—1713). After the death of Bahadur Shah a civil war between his four sons broke out. *Jahandar Shah*, the eldest and worst of them all, secured the throne.

Farrukh Siyar (1713—19). Jahandar Shah was not destined to enjoy power for a time. His second brother Azimus Shan's son, Farrukh Siyar, killed him and usurped the throne. Farrukh Siyar was a mere figure-head, all real powers being in the hands of the two Sayyid brothers, Hasan Ali, and Abdullah. Abdullah became the Wazir and Hasan Ali the commander-in-chief of the army. The most important event of Farrukh Siyar's reign was a successful campaign against the Sikhs. They were defeated and their leader Bandah was captured and executed. The Rajputs were also brought under control. Farrukh Siyar, however, began to plot for the overthrow of Siyyed brothers. Being aware of the fact beforehand, the Sayyid brothers deposed and blinded the Emperor and executed him in 1719 A. D.

Muhammad Shah (1719—1748). After the murder of Farrukh Siyar, the Sayyid brothers raised to the throne two nominal kings—Rafiud Darajat and Rafiud Daulah.

But they died within six months. The Sayyids then placed on the throne another Prince named Raushan Akhtar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah. He assumed the title of Muhammad Shah.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah the empire was breaking up. In 1724 his chief adviser Asaf Jah, Nizamul Mulk, disgusted at the corruption and disorder in the court, shook the dust of Delhi from off his feet and retired to the Deccan, where he founded the state of Hyderabad. In the same year, Saadat Khan, the Nawab of Oudh, set himself up as a virtually independent ruler, and Alavardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, followed his example in 1740. To the north of the Ganges, the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe, had established themselves in the rich territories now known as Rohilkhand.

Invasion of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. Meanwhile the tragic events were happening in the north. The great Persian ruler Nadir Shah, hearing of the pitiable condition of the Mughal Empire, resolved to invade the country. Marching through Ghazni, Kabul and Lahore, he defeated the Imperial troops with great slaughter at Karnal not far from Panipat. Then he occupied Delhi. At first all went well, but a quarrel having broken out between the Persian soldiers and the inhabitants, Nadir Shah ordered a massacre. The city was then ransacked from end to end, and at length the Persians returned laden with booty. Among the booty was Shah Jahan's famous peacock throne. Delhi had never been plundered so systematically since Timur's famous raid in 1398. Nadir Shah's invasion completed the ruin of Mughul Empire.

In 1747, Nadir Shah was murdered. Afghanistan was made an independent State by Ahmad Shah Abdali, an Afghan chief of the Abdali or Durrani clan. He had come to India in the train of Nadir Shah and

he had seen with his own eyes how weak the Mughal Empire was. He naturally followed the footsteps of Nadir Shah. He invaded India for the first time in 1748 and seized Lahore ; but was badly defeated by the Mughal army. Muhammad Shah died in the same year.

He invaded India for the second time in 1750. The third Abdali invasion was undertaken in 1752. Abdali conquered Kashmir and the Mughal Emperor, Ahmad Shah, ceded to him the entire country as far east as Sirhind. The fourth Abdali invasion took place in 1756-57.

After Muhammad Shah, his son Ahmad Shah (1749—54) occupied the throne. He was succeeded by Alamgir II, (1755—59), a son of Jahandar Shah,

Shah Alam II—The third Battle of Panipat :—

Alamgir II was succeeded by his son Shah Alam II (1759—1806). He was nothing more than a figure head, the power of the state being actually in the hands of Ghaziuddin whose unscrupulous dealings had created round a host of enemies. He sought the help of the Marathas against his rivals. In response to his invitation, the Maratha army under the leadership of Raghunath Rao, brother of Peshwa Balaji Rao, entered the capital and occupied the whole of the Punjab. This alarmed the Muslim powers who organised against them a formidable confederacy headed by Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Both parties met on the historic field of Panipat on the 14th January, 1761. No victory was perhaps more complete and no defeat more conclusive then this. Very few Marathas escaped. The Maratha imperialism received its greatest blow. They lost their hold on Malwa, Rajputana and the Doab. The defeat of the Marathas also gave the English an opportunity to

increase their power in the sub-continent. They had brought Bengal and Bihar under their control and established their suzerainty over Oudh. In the south the eclipse of Maratha power enabled Hyder Ali to consolidate his power in Mysore.

After the battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali left for his home in 1762. He recognised Shah Alam II as the Emperor. In 1765, Shah Alam granted the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the English in return for a yearly pension.

Akbar Shah (1806—37) and Bahadur Shah II (1837—57) :—

Shah Alam died in 1806 and was succeeded by his son Akbar Shah, who lived in Delhi with the title of Emperor till 1837.

Akbar was succeeded by his son, Bahadur Shah II, the last ruler of the Mughal dynasty. In 1857, Bahadur Shah joined the War of Independence miscalled Mutiny. For this reason, he was arrested and deported by the English to Rangoon in 1857 A. D. There he died in 1862 A. D. Thus ended the line of Babur.

Causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire :—

Like all other empires of the world, the Mughal Empire decayed when it ceased to fulfil the function of unifying the people. The causes of the fall of the Mughal Empire are not far to seek.

Firstly, the degenaration of the later Mughals largely contributed to the fall of the Mughal Empire. There was not a single worthy Mughal after Aurangzeb. They were mostly worthless, weak and corrupt. The ministers whom the emperors believed and relied on, sacrificed their loyalty at the altar of their self-interest and ambition.

Secondly, there was no definite law of succession. The end of almost every reign and the beginning of

the next was disfigured by bloody civil wars. Such fratricidal struggles for the throne had a very demoralising effect on the stability of the government.

Thirdly, the Mughal nobility in the 18th century had become corrupt and degenerate. Under the early Mughals the nobles performed useful functions and distinguished themselves both in war and peace. But from the seventeenth century onwards, the nobility became selfish, parasitical and treacherous. Besides, the nobles were split up into three factions—Irani, Turani and Hindustani—and they quarrelled one another for self-aggrandisement and ascendancy. In later periods, the corruption of the officials and the extravagance of the nobility steadily drained away the empire's life blood. About the degradation of the nobility Sir J. N. Sarkar remarks: "To the thoughful students of Mughal history, nothing is more striking than the decline of the peerage."

Fourthly, "Military inefficiency," as Irvine writes, "was the principal if not the sole cause of the Mughal Empire's final collapse." The courage and enthusiasm of the Mughal soldiers declined and they lost their moral and martial spirit. The admirable personal qualities of the Great Mughals alone enabled them to make an effective use of an instrument otherwise inefficient. About the later Mughals Irvine writes, "Excepting want of personal courage every other fault in the list of military vices may be atributed to the degenerate Mughals—indicipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariat and cumbrous equipment."

Fifthly, according to Sir J. N. Sarkar, the most important cause of the decline of the Mughals was that they lacked democratic support. The Mughal Empire was a despotism, pure and simple. "It was the fatal defect of the Mughal rule that it always continued to bear the character of a military occupation

of the land and didnot try to build up a nation or homogeneous State...Under even the best of them (Mughal Emperors), though there were great ministers and generals, the mass of the people remained 'Human sheep' as in the worst days of past."

Sixthly, the Mughal Empire had become too big and unwieldy to be efficiently governed from a single centre. The outlying province were difficult to be managed and consequently they suffered from mal-administration. The weakness of the central government encourged the forces of disintegration. From 1748 to 1762 there were repeated raids in the northern India. The incessant raids of the Marathas, the incursions of Afghans and Persians and the rivalries of the soldier-adventurers for usurping the tottering throne brought about a collapse of laws and order.

Finally, the East India Company gradually outstripped all others in usurping the Mughal dominion.

CHAPTER XVIII

REVIEW OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE

Social Condition :—

Mughal society was organised on a feudal basis. The king was the head of the society. Below the king were the Mansabdars or the official nobles, who enjoyed special honours and privileges. They held high offices in the state. The nobles rolled in wealth and lived luxurious lives. Drink was a common vice among the aristocrats. All the Mughal kings indulged in liquor more or less with the exception of Aurangzeb. The food and dress of the wealthy were rich and costly.

The shop-keepers, the traders, the merchants, the bankers and the physicians formed the middle class. The life of the middle classes was free from ostentation. They lived according to the standard which was determined by the nature of the work they had to do. The merchants in general led simple and moderate lives. According to some European writers the merchants of the Western coast maintained a higher standard of living and indulged in luxuries. The life of the lower classes was hard as compared with that of the two higher classes. They could have no sufficient clothing ; and wollen garments and shoes were above their means. Flood, famine and pestilence affected them much and their sufferings knew no bounds. During the later part of Shah Jahan's reign, the lot of the peasantry was far from enviable. The expenditure of huge sums of money on costly but useless edifices instead of upon works of public utility caused much suffering. The French traveller Bernier tells us that many of the peasants had given up cultivating their land altogether and, in despair, had enlisted as troopers in the service of some noblemen.

"Unlike their predecessors—the Indo-Bactrians, the Sakas and the Huns—the Muslim conquerors of India were not absorbed by the expanding Hinduism. On the other hand, they made large conversions. Not only did Islam impact of Hinduism, it left its own impression on Hindu religion and culture. The anti-caste and anti-Brahman movements in medieval India were due to the influence of Islam."[1] The relation between the Hindus and the Muslims was on the whole cordial. "The cultural unity of India was another enduring achievement of the Muslim Rule. Hindu-Muslim social intercourse, Hindus and Muslims studying side by side in the same schools without any restrictions, compulsory education in Persian, mutual exchange of words, thoughts, and ideas both in arts and literature, adoption and incorporation—all these forces combined and cumulatively contributed to the cultural unity of India during the Mughal rule."[2] The Purdah system was prevalent both among the Hindus and the Muslims. Akbar attempted to abolish some of the evil practices of the Hindus such as Sati, child marriage, *Kulinism* and the dowry system. Akbar's reign is remarkably important for the existence of Hindu-Muslim harmony.

In those days a common man's dress consisted of close-fitting Pajama and the so-called Jamah. The Mughals made a contribution to Indian dress by introducing the popular head-wear called 'Pagri.' The magnificence of the court compelled the nobles to use costly dress and jewellery. Wool and silk was preferred to cotton. The female used to wear 'close-fitting trousers and bodice coming down to the end of the izar' and some times a slight Sari for setting.

Under the Mughals, chauser (chess) and chanpar seemed to be favourite indoor games with the commoners

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1. Siddique—Development of Islamic State and Society.
2. Jafar, S. M.—Mughal Empire.

as well as aristocracy. Hunting was the popular outdoor pasttime of all classes of people. Other notable outdoor games were polo, chariot-racing, elephant-fights and swimming.

In the Mughal society, women were honoured and many of them took keen interest in literary persuit. Slavery was in vogue in Mughal India.

Economic conditions :—

The economic condition of the common man during the Mughal period was, on the whole, very satisfactory. Dr. Smith writes that a labourer could live quite comfortably on an income of 2.7d. per day. Prosperity and plenty prevailed everywhere. Almost all contemporary foreign visitors refer to the cheapness of food in Indian towns. Tavernier says that even in the smallest villages flour, sugar and sweatmeats could be procured in abundance. Manucci wrote about Bengal, "All things are in great plenty here, fruits, pulse, grain, muslin cloths of gold and silk." Hawkins, who visited India during the time of Jahangir says, "India is rich in silver and gold, for all nations bring coins and carry away commodities for the same; this coin is burried in India and goeth not forth." Fitch remarks, "Agra and Fatehpore are two every great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous". Monserrate writes that in 1581 Lahore was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia." Burhanpur in Khandesh was "very rich and full of people." Abul Fazl describes Ahmadabad in Gujarat, a noble city in a high state of prosperity. Benaras, Patna, Rajmahal, Burdawan, Hooghly, Dacca, and Chittagong in Eastern India were also famous for wealth, prosperity, trade and industry.

The land was cultivated in small holdings by peasants who contributed the largest share of the revenue of

the State. Paddy, wheat, sugarcane, indigo, tobacco, cotton and silk were the main agricultural products of India. Mining and manufacture were also organised in small units. In view of the fact that the Mughal Government had no strong naval power and there being no big merchant marine, Indian merchants could not seek new markets; but the commercial apptitudes of the Indian merchants were not inferior to those of foreigners.

The Mughal State was also the largest or rather the sole manufacturer on a large scale in respect of several commodities. The most important of these industries was the manufacture of cotton cloth. Gujarat, Burhanpur, Jaunpur, Benaras, Patna, and many cities and villages in Orissa and Bengal were the principal seats of this industry. The whole country from Orissa to East Bengal looked like a big cotton factory. Dacca was specially famous for its delicate muslin fabrics. Bengal was the premier centre of silk production and manufacture and supplied the demands of the Indian and European merchants. Woollen goods, chiefly coarse blankets, were also woven. Lahore and Kashmir were the reputed centres of shawl and carpet industries. The dyeing industry, too, was in a flourishing condition. Ship-building was also an important industry in the Mughal days. Saltpetre production in Bihar and iron production in Golkonda were important in the Mughal period. Besides these major industries, various other crafts flourished during the Mughal period. Terry remarks that "many curious boxes, trunks, standishes (pen-cases), carpets, with other excellent manufactures, may be there had."

During the Great Mughals India had both inland and foreign trade with the different countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. The principal imports of the country were bullion, raw silk, horses, precious stones, amber,

metals, ivory, coral, velvets, Chinese porcelain and African slaves and the exports of India were textile, pepper, indigo, opium and miscellaneous goods. The chief ports of India were Lahori Bandar in Sind, Surat, Goa, Calicut, Cochin, Masulipatam, and Satgoan, Chittagong and Sonargaon in Bengal.

Education and literature :—

The Mughal Emperors patronised education and literature. "The support of public education was not a duty of the state. If the king spent any thing on education it was not an act of the state, but a private benefaction. Some schools were, however, subsidied by the state. Apart from this, the emperors patronised learned men, poets and artists. During the Mughal period education was diffused by the three-fold means of (1) schools and colleges, (2) mosques and monasteries and (3) private houses, typifying three forms of education, viz. the university, primary and domestic. Hindu students study side by side with Muslims and no restric tions were placed. Separate schools existed for female education, but for the most part they received their education at home." [1]

Persian Literature :—

The Mughal period marks a new era in the literary history of India. A long period of peace, a strong and wise government and a rich cultural heritage led to the revival of arts and letters. Babur himself was a refined scholar. He possessed a fine intellect and a rich imagination. He was a poet of no mean order. But his greatest achievement, however, is his Memoirs (Tuzk-i-Babur) which he wrote in Turkish language. His Memoirs is considered to be one of the best books in the history of human literature. It has earned

1. Siddique—Development of Islamic State and Society.

universal admiration 'for the simplicity of its language, the sublimity of its style and the authencity of its contents.' Humayun, though unfortunate in his political plans, was a well read scholar who adorned his court with poets, philosophers and divines.

Akbar's reign may be considered as the golden age of Indo-Muslim art and literature. "The Hindu and Muslim genius" write Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "soared to the highest pitch, and produced work of which any country may feel proud." The Persian literature of Akbar's reign may be considered under three heads: (1) historical works, (2) translation, and (3) poetry and verse. The well-known historical works of the reign are *Ta'rikh-i-Afif* of Mulla Daud, the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Akbarnamah* of Abul Fazl, the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni, the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad, and the *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* of Abdul Baqi. The most accomplished writer of the reign was *Abul Fazl*. He must be regarded the greatest historian of India writing in Persian. Abul Fazl has been described as a great flatterer. Blochman however emphasises his love of truth as well as his correctness of information and rightly says that "the total absence of personal grievances and expression of ill-will towards encompassing enemies show that the expanse of his large heart stretched to the clear offing of sterling, wisdom." Other important historians of the "Age of Akbar" were *Badauni* and *Nizamuddin*. Akbar showed an active interest in Persian translations of famous Sanskrit works like the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana* the *Atharva Veda*. Some Greek and Arabic works were translated into Persian. The Memoirs of Babur was translated by Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan into Persian. A number of famous poets produced works of merit under the patronage of Akbar. The most famous among the verse-writers was Faizi. Blochman says that "after Amir Khusru of Delhi

Muhammadan India has seen no greater poet than Faizi." Muhammad *Husain Naziri* of Nishapur wrote ghazals of outstanding merit and Jamaluddin Urfi of Shiraj was the most reputed Qasida-writer of the time.

The patronage given by Akbar continued throughout the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Jahangir was himself an author of considerable merit and besides composing his celebrated Memoirs he encouraged the completion of a valuable dictionary, the *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*. Among the learned men who adorned Jahangir's court, the names of *Ghiyas Beg*, *Naqib Khan*, *Mutamid Khan*, *Niamatullah* and *Abdul Huq Dehlawi* may be mentioned here. Of the most important historical works of Jahangir's reign were the *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, the *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* and the *Zubd-ut-Tawarikh.*

Shah Jahan followed his predecessors in patronising learned men. Many poets, theologians and historians adorned his court. Among the famous historians *Abdul Hamid Lahori*, author of the *Padshanama*, *Aminai Qazwini*, author of another *Padshanama* and *Muhammad Shah*, author of *Amal-i-Saleh* are the important authorities on the history of Shah Jahan's reign. *Prince Dara Shukoh*, the eldest son of Shah Jahan, was a great scholar. He was interested in religious and philosophical studies. *Aurangzeb* was a great scholar of Muslim theology and jurisprudence. It was at his instance that the famous *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* was composed. The most important history of his reign, was the *Muntakhab-ul-Lahab of Khafi Khan.* The other well-known histories of his reign are the *Alamgirnamah by Mirza Muhammad Kazim*, the *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri of Muhammad Saqi*, the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh of Sujan Rai Khatri*, the *Nuskha -i-Dilkhusha* of *Bhim Sen* and the *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* of *Ishwar Das*.

Hindi Literature :—

The Mughal period also saw the great development of Hindi literature. It was the "Augustan Age of Hindustani literature." Akbar was a great prtron of Hindi literature. Tulsidas, the greatest of the Hindi poets, flourished during the "Age of Akbar." He was a poet of greatest merit with amazing fluency, richness and depth, and a sensitive ear for the harmony and melody of words. He wrote more than a dozen books of which the most famous is the great Rama-Charita-manasa. Among the courtiers of the Emperor, Birbal, Raja Man Singh and Raja Bhagwan Das were renowned poets. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan was the most distinguished Hindi poet of Akbar's court. The famous Hindi bard, the blind poet Surdas of Agra, graced the court of Akbar.

In Bengal, the Vaishnava literature flourished. The reputed Vaishnava writers were Krishna Das Kabiraj, the author of Chaitanyacharita, Brindaban Das, the author of Chaitanya Bhagavata and Jaynanda, the author of Chaitananya Mangal. The Mahabharata of Kasiram Das and the Kavikankan Chandi of Mukandaram Chakravarty were also important works of the time.

Art and Architecture.

"In art and architecture," writes a modern historian, "the Mughal period was not entirely an age of innovation and renaissance, but of a continuation and culmination of processes that had their beginnings in the later Turko-Afghan period. In fact, the art and architecture of this period after 1526, as also of the preceding period, represent a happy mingling of Muslim and Hindu art, traditions and elements. The beautiful buildings they erected still stand and serve as an imperishable index to their refined taste and afford an excellent testimony to their cultural advancement."

Architecture under Akbar. Akbar's reign witnessed a remarkable development of architecture. Abul Fazl tells us that Akbar kept control over the price of building-materials, the wages of craftsmen, and collected data for framing proper estimates. Further, the same author observes that his sovereign "planned splendid edifices and dressed the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay." The most impressive buildings in which he liberally used red stones, were constructed at Fathepur Sikri. Fergusson aptly remarks that Fathepur Sikri "was a reflex of the mind of a great man." The most magnificient of the Emperor's buildings at Fatehpur Sikri are Jodh Bai's palace, the *Diwan-i-Am*, the wonderful *Diwhn-i-Khas* or Hall of private audience, and the *Jami Masjid*, described by Fergusson as "a romance in stone." The most impressive thing at Fathpur Sikri is the *Buland Darwaza* which commemorates Akbar's conquest of Gujarat. Akbar's mausoleum at *Sikandara* and the palace of Forty Pillars at Allahabad are two other remarkable structures of the period.

Architecture under Jahangir. Jahangir's tastes were different from those of Akbar. His interest centred mainly round painting and gardening. But two structures of his time are of exceptional interest and merit. He completed the work of the tomb of Akbar at Sikandara. The other is the tomb of Itimaduddaulah at Agra built by Nur Jahan. It was built wholly of white marble decorated with pietra dura work in semi-precious stones. Percy Brown writes that "there is no other building like it in the entire range of Mughal architecture." Another important structure of his reign was his own tomb at Lahore, which later on was damaged by Sikhs.

Architecture under Shah Jahan. The reign of Shah Jahan has been called the 'Golden Age' of the Mughal

Empire. Shah Jahan was a prolific builder. The buildings of his reign were of a splendour which far surpassed anything which India had previously witnessed. He erected the Juma Masjid at Delhi, Diwan-i-Am or the Hall of Public Audience, with the pierced marble screen bearing the scales of Justice, and here formerly stood the famous Peacock Throne, with its golden legs and pillars, each of which bore two peacocks encrusted with rubies, diamonds and emeralds. Equally striking is the Diwan-i-Khas or the Hall of Private Audience with its famous inscriptions.

If on earth be an Eden of bliss
It is this, it is this, none but this.

At Agra, Moti Masjid or Pearl mosque is one of the most exquisite buildings in a cluster of lonely monuments, but all are dwarfed by the famous Taj Mahal which the Emperor erected for his wife Mumtaz Mahal. It is rightly regarded as one of the wonders of the world for its beauty and magnificence. The Taj Mahal and the Pearl Mosque are works of unsurpassed architectural skill, and master pieces of such wondrous beauty that it has been rightly said that Shah Jahan's workmen "built like giants and finished their work like jewellers. It took twenty years to complete and cost fifty lacs of rupees. Here husband and wife sleep side by side. Though not so famous as the Taj, the mausoleum of Jahangir, built by Shah Jahan at Shahdara in Lahore, is a beautiful specimen of art.

After Shah Jahan the Mughal art began to decline. But though Aurangzeb did not pay much attention to the construction of building, he was not without architectural taste, His important structures are the marble mosque within the fort of Delhi and the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore.

Painting under the Mughals :—

The ancestors of the Mughals were lovers of art. Timur was a great patron of art and painting. Under him, Tabrez, Siraz, and Herat became the renowned centres of art. Shahrukh Mirza, son of Timur was also a great patron of the art of painting, At the court of Husain Baiqara of Herat flourished Bihzad, the Raphael of the East, in whom the Persian and Chinese arts were so exquisitely blended.

Babur inherited the artistic tastes of his forefathers. He was a great lover of art and found delight in the painting of inanimate objects. Humayun developed his taste for painting while he was at Persia. When he came back to India, he brought with him Mir Saiyyid Ali Tabrizi and Khwajah Abdus Samad, two master-painters of the neo-Persian school of painting. Akbar gave a definite spur to the Mughal school of painting. "A new school began to flourish, a school entirely of portraiture and illustration, delighting in animated and crowded scenes in dramatic motives." Abul Fazl says that "He (Akbar) gives it every encouragement as he looks upon it as means of both study and amusement. Hence art flourishes, and many painters have obtained reputation. The works of all painters are weekly laid before his Majesty by the Daroghas and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to excellence of workmanship or increases the monthly salaries." The leading painters were Khwajah Abdus Samad, Mir Saiyyid Ali, Farrukh Beg, Daswant, Basawan, Sanwal Das, Tarachand and others.

The art of painting received a fresh impetus in the rign of Jahangir. He was a keen collector of historical paintings. Amongst the painters Ustad Mansur, Farrukh Beg, Muhmmad Nadir and Muhammad Murad occupied a high place in the court of Jahangir. Abul Hasan's son Aqa Riza was one of the most

distinguished painters of the age on whom the emperor conferred the title of Nadiruzzaman.

Mughal Administration :—

The Mughal administration followed the Persian model, but in details it was modified to suit local conditions. In the language of Sir J. N. Sarkar it was "the Perso-Arabic system in an Indian setting." It was essentially military in nature and every officer had to be enrolled in the army list. The Government was a centralised monarchy and the power of the king was unlimited. He was the head of the administration, both civil and military. He was the commander of forces, the fountain of justice and chief legislator. His word was law, and his will none could dispute. There was nothing like a cabinet of ministers in the modern sense of the term, but occasionally the ministers were consulted by the emperors. Infact, much depended on the personality of the emperor and his ministers.

The Mughal Emperors appointed a number of officers in the different departments of the Government. Below the Emperor was the Vakil, the chief executive officer, who on behalf of His Majesty could exercise power over all the departments of administration. The main departments of the Mughal Government were -— (1) Finance under the Diwan, (2) Military Pay and Accounts under the Mir Bakshi, (3) Imperial Household under the Khan-i- Saman, (4) Judiciary under the chief Qazi, (5) Religious Endowments and charitable grants under the Sudr-i- Sudar, (6) Censorship of Public Morals under the Muhtasib, (7) Artillery under the Mir-i-Atish or Daroga-i- Topkhana (8) Post and Intelligence under the Darogha-i- Dak Chowki and (9) Mint under its Darogha.

The revenues of the Mughal Empire may be divided under two heads—central or imperial and local or

provincial. For purposes of administration and revenue collection, the empire was divided into Subas, which again were sub-divided into Saikars, each of which in turn comprised a number of Parganas. In 1579-1580, Akbar divided his empire into twelve provinces, the number of which rose to fifteen towards the close of his reign, to seventeen in the reign of Jahangir and to twenty-one in the time of Aurangzeb. "The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire was an exact miniature of the Central Government." The Governor was the head of the civil as well as military administration of each Suba. He had a staff of subordinate officers under him, like the Diwan, the Bakhshi, the Sadr, the Amil, the Faujdar, the Bitikchi, the Kotwal, the Paddar, the Waqa-i-Navis and the Qazi.

The history of the Mughal army is largely the history of the Mansabdari system, the principal features of which have already been discussed. The Mughal forces were composed of (i) cavalry, (ii) infantry, (iii) artillery and (iv) navy. The cavalry was the most important of all these branches. But the naval establishment of the Mughals does not seem to have been very formidable.

BRITISH PERIOD

&

PAKISTAN ERA

CHAPTER I

ADVENT OF EUROPEANS IN INDIA

Penetration of the West and the Advent of Portuguese :— The beginning of the European expansion in the sub-continent of Indo-Pakistan dates back to the Crusades, when Italian city-states such as Venice, Florance and Genoa had established warehouses in the cities of Asia Minor. From the 12th to the 15th century the Italian cities monopolised the trade route linking the eastern Mediterranean with Asiatic countries. But in 1453, the Turks took Constantinople and closed the route of Mediterranean Sea. But all over Europe there was a great demand for Indian goods especially for gold and silver.

In the 15th century the Portuguese were rising into power. They were a brave adventurous people and good sailors. Under the auspices of Prince Henry the Navigator, Portuguese captains set out to find a new way round Africa to India by sea, and at last, in 1487, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the cape of Good Hope. The king of Portugal now fitted out an expedition under *Vasco da Gama*, which, after many adventures, on the 20th May, 1498, cast anchor in the harbour of Calicut. In September, 1500, a Portuguese fleet came out and established a factory there. They looked upon themselves as missionaries as well as traders. In 1502 the Pope gave the king of Portugal permission to style himself "Lord of Navigation, conquest and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India." The Portuguese began to take part in the political intrigues among the states of Peninsular India and entered into alliance with the enemies of the ruler of Calicut, the chief of whom was the ruler of Cochin.

Albuquerque. Under their second Viceroy, Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese became very rich and powerful. He was appointed Governor of Portuguese

affairs in India in 1509. In 1510, he conquered the rich port of Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur. He did his best to strengthen the fortifications of the city and increase its commercial importance. He made Goa the head-quarters of the Portuguese in the East. He did everything in his power encourage the Portuguese to take Indian wives in order to secure a permanent population. "The interests of the Portuguese were, however, faithfully served by him, and when he died in 1515 they were left as the strongest naval power in India with domination over the west coast.

Fall of the Portuguese Power. The Portuguese power, though brilliant, was short-lived. Several causes led to their decline. Their religious intolerance made them unpopular. Neither Hindus nor Muslims were allowed to practise their religion in Portuguese territories, and temples and mosques were destroyed. In 1565, the fall of Vijayanagar, with which they did much of their trade, was a severe blow to their prosperity. The Portuguese administrative system was also "surprisingly ineffective." The officials had no sense of loyalty, even the soldiers had the right of private trade ; corruption was rampant.

After the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the English became the leading sea power, and the Portuguese in India were cut off from their base. In 1622, Ormuz was taken from them by the English. Their ships were defeated by their English and Dutch rivals whenever they encountered them, and they lost the favour of Emperor Jahangir. Their final mistake was to cede the harbour of Bombay to the English in 1661.

The Coming of the English :—

In 1600, Elizabeth granted to a small party of merchants under the title "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" monopoly of English commerce for a term of 15 years

from the Cape of Good Hope to the straits of Magellan. This Company is known as the East India Company. It had only 125 share-holders, with a capital of £ 70,000. A fleet of ships was fitted out, and commerce began to be carried out by it. In 1608 William Hawkins came to India as a captain of one of the English vessels. He saw Jahangir with a letter from James I. He was graciously received and allowed to reside at Mughal court for some time. But Portuguese influence at the court was strong enough to prevent any grant to the English of the right to trade in India. But the Company prospects brightened up in 1612 when Captain Thomas Best succeeded in defeating a Portuguese fleet off Surat. As a result, Jahangir granted a farman to the English, allowing them to establish a permanent factory at Surat (1603).

In 1615 Sir Thomas Roe came to the court of Jahangir as an ambassador from king James I. He was in the Mughal court for three years. His mission was to secure permanent trading facilities for the Company and to foil the intrigues of the Portuguese. Although he failed to secure a commercial treaty from the Emperor he got permission to establish factories at Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach. Factories were also established at Masulipatam and Armagoan. Little by little they thus succeeded in extending the field of their commercial operations, and, while Shah Jahan ruled over the Mughal Empire, they obtained from him the privilege of trading in Bengal. The Coromandel Coast was also a theatre of their activities, which they looked upon as the convenient and most flourishing of all their trading centres.

In the course of the 17th century they built three important forts, where English subjects could reside with safety. These forts were Fort St. George at Madras, Fort William at Calcutta, and Fort St. David

sixteen miles south of Pondicherry. Moreover, Madras and Bombay assumed great importance and came to be known as Presidencies.

The Dutch and the Danes in India :—

During the 17th century, the Dutch were the first maritime power in the world. 'The Dutch East India' was founded in 1602, and in 1619 Batavia, their capital in the East Indies, was built. They then proceeded to drive the Portuguese out of the Spice Islands. They blockaded Goa in 1639, seized Malacca in 1641, and took Jaffna, the last Portuguese settlement in Ceylon, in 1628. In 1664, they drove their rivals from the Malabar coast. At first, the English tried to establish themselves in the Spice Islands, but this led to the massacre of the English merchants by their Dutch rivals at Amboyna in 1623, after which they confined themselves to the Indian mainland. The union of the two crowns under William of Orange put an end to the rivalry for a time. A principal Dutch factory in India was at Chinsura on the Hooghly and in 1758 the factories took the side of the French who had been expelled from Chandernagar by Clive. Thereupon, Clive attacked and defeated them, and this was the end of Dutch power in India.

The Danes established factories at Tranquebar on the Madras cost in 1620. Their most important settlement was at Serampore in Bengal which they occupied in about 1676. They ultimately sold off their settlements to the British Government.

The French and their Rivalry with English :—

The French were the late-comers to India, they came to India because they wanted to a share in the harvest which other European nations were reaping there. The French East India Company was organised by Colbert, the

Minister of Louis XIV in1664, after the English had been established for some years. The French founded Pondicherry on the Madras coast in 1674 and soon it became a flourishing settlement. The French also established a factory at Chandernagar on the Hooghly in 1688. Other French settlements were Mahe, Karikal and Yanaon.

In short, first establishing at Surat in 1612, the East India Company of the English, within the period of the 17th century, acquired Madras, Bombay, Hooghly, Kasimbazar, Dacca, Maldah, Calcutta and many other places. In the latter part of the same century, the French East India Company established factories at Pondichery, Chandernagore, Mahe, Khaikal and Yanaon. Both the nations were ambitious and therefore jealous. Both were dreaming at establishing empire here. But the English Company being a private one was more wealthy and energetic than its French rival which, being a state-sponsored, was poor in energy and resources. But the French general Dupleix was more ambitious than his English counterpart.

The First Carnatic War. The first struggle between the English and the French in India was an echo of the War of Austrian Succession which broke out in Europe in 1740. England and France were ranged on opposite sides in that war in 1742. Conflicts between them reverberated in India in 1745 when an English fleet threatened Pondichery. Dupleix, the French Governor, secured the withdrawal of the fleet by appealing to Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Carnatic. Pondichery being thus rendered secure from attack, a French fleet attacked and captured Madras. Dupleix had secured the sanction of Nawab Anwaruddin in his attack upon Madras by promising to make over the city to him after its capture. When Madras fell into his hands, he refused to keep his promise. So

Anwaruddin sent a large force to enforce his claim. But to the surprise of all, a handful of French troops completely routed Anwaruddin's army in 1746. The French then attempted to capture Fort St. David but the English repulsed the French attack. The English then made a naval attack on Pondichery but were repulsed causing heavy loss. In 1748, the war in Europe was brought to a close by the treaty by which France restored Madras to the English in India.

The victory of the French over Nawab's army revealed the weakness of the ill-disciplined Indian army against trained Europeans. Dupleix perceived that in the rivalries of the local princes his small but well-disciplined army might play a decisive part. This would ensure French supremacy in the courts of the Indian princes whose influence he might utilise in ousting the English from India. So henceforth he began to look for opportunities to interfere in the internal quarrels of the Indian states.

Dupleix's opportunity came soon. In 1748, at the death of Nizam Asaf Jah, his vacant throne became the bone of contention between his second son, Nasir Jang, and his daughter's son, Muzaffar Jang. This dispute was complicated by a similar contention in Carnatic. There Chand Sahib, the son-in-law of a former Nawab, contested the claim of Anwaruddin who had already been its Nawab. Dupleix's plan was to install Chand Sahib as the Nawab and then with his help to place Muzaffar Jang on the throne of the Deccan. This would make French influence supreme both in the Deccan and Carnatic. So Dupleix concluded a secret alliance with Chand Sahib and Muzaffar Jang and the combined armies of the allies fell upon Anwaruddin, defeated and killed him in 1749. Muhammad Ali, the illegitimate son of Anwaruddin, was driven to take refuge at Trichinopoly and the rest of Carnatic passed into the hands of Chand Sahib.

The Second Carnatic War. Fearing the extension of the French influence in the Deccan, the English took up the cause of Anwaruddin's son, Muhammad Ali, and of Nasir Jang. Thus, again war broke out between the French and the English in India as the result of their interference in Indian politics. Nasir Jang with the help of the English defeated Chand Sahib and captured Muzaffar Jang. But soon Nasir Jang was murdered (1750). The French immediately installed Muzaffar Jang as the Nizam, and Chand Sahib as the Nawab of Arcot. Thus the French succeeded in placing their own nominees on the throne of the Deccan and Carnatic.

Hitherto the English had given only half-hearted support to their allies but the influence of the French and Dupleix's successful diplomacy awakened them to a sense of danger. Henceforth they determined to render effectual help to Muhammad Ali who was beseiged by Chand Sahib at Trichinopoly. At this juncture *Clive* made a bold dash for Arcot and occupied it without opposition. The fall of his capital compelled Chand Sahib to send away a large portion of his army from Trichinopoly for recapturing Arcot. Clive maintained a gallant defence for fifty-three days after which he was reinforced by troops from Madras and was also helped by the Marathas under Morari Rao. Thus the table was turned upon the French. Trichinopoly was relieved. Clive's further success at Kaveripak completed the discomfiture of the French. Chand Sahib was soon treacherously murdered by the Raja of Tanjore. Muhammad Ali then (1752) became the undisputed Nawab of Carnatic; Dupleix's ambition was dashed to the ground and Clive succeeded in making the English supreme in India. In 1754, Dupleix was recalled in Home from India. The chief reason for his failure in India were lack of his support by his Home

Government, lack of finance and his attempt 'to hasten the work of time.'

The Third Carnatic War and the fall of the French Power in India. In 1756, Seven Years' War broke out in Europe. Consequently the English and the French in India again became involved in hostilities. Clive promptly captured Chandernagore in 1757. The French new Governor *Count de Lally* captured Fort St. David and other small places in 1758. He then made a great mistake in recalling Bussy from Hydarabad in order to marshal his forces for an attack on Madras. This ill-judged policy resulted in the loss of the French influence in the Deccan. Clive took advantage of the situation and sent Colonel Forde who defeated Bussy's successor at Condore and stormed Masulipatam in 1759. The Nizam, Salabat Jang, also leaving French side went over to the victorious English and ceded to them the places which he had taken from them. Lally then launched on attack on Madras but the town was protected by a British fleet. He was forced to retire to Pondicherry and was eventually defeated at the decisive battle of *Wandiwash* in 1760. Pondicherry was beseized and Lally was forced to surrender. This sounded the death knell of French dominion in India. Lally returned to France where he was condemned and executed. But the French settlements in India were restored by the Peace of Paris in 1763 with the condition that they were not to be fortified.

Cavses of Franch and English Rivalry. (a) The causes that brought about the long strife between the French and the English in Indo-Pakistan may be summed up in one word—'rivalry'.

(b) Dupleix made a gallant and memorable effort to establish and build up a French colonial empire in India. He was appointed Governor-General of the French possessions in India in 1741; and as soon as

he had entered upon his high office, he made up his mind to expel the English from India and secure French supremacy by taking advantage of the dissensions between Indian rulers.

(c) The War of the Austrian Succession, which broke out in Europe in 1740, extended to India in 1746. It had rebevaration in India and led war between these two rival nations in India. The War of the Austrian succession was, therefore, the occasion of the First Carnatic War. The real cause behind the war was the rivalry between the French and the English in India.

(d) "The fall of Pondichery left the English without serious European rivals in Indo-Pakistan for the moment and thus enabled them to consolidate their position in Bengal".*

Causes of the French Failure. The causes of the failure of the French in India were many. The French East India Company was far inferior to the English one in wealth and power. Unlike English Company, it was not an autonomous body of merchants, but a department of government. Like government department in France at the time, it was badly administered. Officers who displeased the authorities, like La Bourdonnais and Lally, were cruelly punished. Hence none of its servants displayed bold initiative of man like Clive. Dupleix's ambitious schemes, his intrigues with the Indian Princes and his attempts to build up a great empire in the Southern India, disowned by the French authorities at home. It was no part of the policy of France to found an empire in the East. Lally was sent out to reform the numerous abuses which prevailed in Pondichery, and this aroused the jealousy of the local officials. They deliberately thwarted him in every way and connived at his defeat. Again Lally was starved of troops, as those who had originally been intended

* Cambridge History of India. Vol. V.

for India were diverted to Canada. When the English finally established themselves in the rich province of Bengal, it was clear that France was to be doomed.

But the root cause of the failure of France was her loss of the command of the sea. Pondichery might had held out indefinitely, had she been able to receive supplies of men and material by sea.

Joseph Francis Dupleix. Dupliex was appointed Governor-General of French possessions in India in 1741. His main object was to establish a French colonial empire in India. For a time he was successful but he was betrayed by the French government. During the First Carnatic War he made good use of the Indian sepoys, and with their help occupied Madras. But his grand schemes failed because. unsupported by the Home Government he could not adjust them to the limited resources at his command. "Neither Alexander the Great nor Napolean could have won the empire of Indo-Pakistan by starting from Pondichery as a lease and contending with the power which help Bengal and command of the sea." [1] P. E. Roberts concludes his career in the following words: "He is a striking and brilliant figure in Indo-Pak history. For even if we give up the old uncritical estimate, we need not deny his real claims to greatness. His political conceptions were daring and imaginative. He raised the prestige of France in the East for some years to an amazing height, he won a reputation among Indo-Pak princes and leaders that has never been surpassed, and he aroused a dread in his English contemporaries which is at once a tribute to his personal power and a testimony to their sagacity."

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1. Dr. V. Smith. Oxford History of India.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING OF BRITISH RULE IN BENGAL

The Nawabs of Bengal :—

During the weak rule of Aurangzeb's successors Murshid Quli Khan practically became an independent ruler and founded a new dynasty of Nawabs in Bengal. In 1727 his son-in-law, Shujauddin Khan succeeded him in the government of Bengal and Orissa. He ruled over Bengal quite efficiently upto 1739. During his regime, Ali Vardi Khan was appointed as the deputy governor of Bihar. Shuja was succeeded by his son, Sarfaraz Khan, who was shortly afterwards defeated and slain by Ali Vardi Khan. Ali Vardi Khan entered Murshidabad, which was then the capital, as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1740 and ruled upto 1756.

Ali Vardi Khan was a man of considerable ability and shrewdness. During the whole of his reign he was engaged in stıuggles against the Marathas. He was compelled to purchase peace by the cession of Orissa to Raghuji Bhonsle in 1751 and by a promise to pay to the Marathas twelve lakhs of rupees a year as the *Chauth* of Bengal. Freed from the Maratha troubles Ali Vardi tried to restore order and set up a regular system of government. He maintained good relations with the Europeans in Bengal, but they were forbidden to fortify their settlements except as a defensive precaution against Maratha raids. He died on the 21st April 1756.

Reign of Sirajuddaula :—

Ali Vardi Khan was succeeded by his grandson and grand nephew, Mirza Muhammad, generally known by his title Sirajuddaula, a youth of barely twenty three

years of age. He did not find the throne of Bengal as a bed of roses. He was confronted with troubles both from within and without. His cousin Shawkat Jang, the governor of Purnea, rose in revolt against him and his cause was supported by Ghasiti Begum, the eldest daughter of Ali Vardi Khan and by her all-powerful Diwan Rajballabh. Again, he had to reckon with the British whose growing prosperity alaramed him. He displayed commendable energy and promptitude in facing his enemies. He removed Ghasiti Begumto his own palace and kept her under surveillance. He then marched towards Purnea to crush Shawkat Jang but soon turned back as the impertinent conduct of the English in Calcutta demanded his immediate attention.

Sirajuddaula and the English :—

Ever since his accession, Sirajuddaula was an eyesore of the English who showed disrespect to him repeatedly. They gave him offence by abusing their trade privileges and by sheltering Krishna Das (Rajballabh's son) who was a fugitive from the Nawab's justice. They were also adding to their fortification without Nawab's permission. Siraj, being suspicious of their design, ordered the English to dismantle their recent fortifications. He sent envoys to Calcutta to remonstrate, but the envoys were treated with arrogant contempt. This impertinence roused Siraj to fury. He seized the English factory at Kashimbazar, marched upon Calcutta and captured it.

When the news of disaster in Calcutta with the fabricated story of Black Hole tragedy reached Madras, a fleet carring the troops under Clive's command was despatched. Calcutta was recaptured by Clive. Clive then attacked the French settlement at Chandernagar on the ground that the French had promised to help the Nawab. The English then captured Chandernagar

from the French. Sirajuddaula once more led his army against Calcutta. But soon a peace was concluded between the Nawab and the English. Sirajuddaula had to give the English almost everything they asked for. They were granted the right to fortify Fort William; all property that had been seized by the Nawab was to be restored; and compensation was to be paid for other damage. Besides this, the Nawab consented to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance with the English.

The whole story of "Black Hole Tragedy" given by Holwell, has been doubted by many. It has been proved by recent researches that the whole story is a mere fabrication. Some who are said to have died on this occasion were found to be living in later years. It is a story concocted only to rouse the sentiment of the English against the Nawab. The contemporary Muslim accounts, viz, *Siyarulmuta-Kherin* and *Riyazus-Salatin* do not mention the event. Dr. Simth observes: "For many years it has now been agreed that the incident was not due to the deliberate action of Sirajuddaula, and that on the part of his agents it was the result of ignorance and carelessness rather than of cruelty and vindictiveness. As such it should be regarded as a deplorable incident rather than as a deliberate atrocity." According to H. H. Dodwell, "this event does not deserve the title of 'massacre' by which it has long been known for there is nothing to show that the fate of the prisoners was in any way designed."

The Battle of Plassey :—

It was not long when the English in violation of the treaty took recourse to conspiracy with some of the influential nobles of the court of Sirajuddaula, whom they won over to their side by bribes and false promises,

Ths names of Mir Jafar, Jagat Seth, and Aminchand, a wealthy of Sikh financier, deserve special mention here. Clive made a plot with Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief of the army, to dethrone Sirajuddaula. When the negotiations reached a critical stage, Aminchand through whom the negotiations were conducted threatened to divulge the whole plot to the Nawab if he was not paid 30 lakhs of rupees. Clive met Aminchand's threats by treachery. Two agreements were drawn up, one false containing a promise to pay Aminchand's demands and the other genuine containing no such stipulation. The fictitious treaty was signed by Clive and the Secret Committee.

When the plot was ripe Clive picked up a quarrel with Sirajuddaula and marched northwards with his army. He faced the Nawab's army at Plassey where a battle was fought and Clive obtained a cheap victory in 1757. The Nawab's general was killed and the army was seized which made such impression on Sirajuddaula that he fled from the field, and he was subsequently captured and put to death by the son of Mir Jafar.

Results of the Battle. The battle of Plassey was a mere skirmish "magnified into a battle on account of its political consequences." Because Nawab's forces, who were commanded by the traitor Mir Jafar, never came into action. It ensured the paramount power of the English not only in Bengal but also ultimately in India. After the battle, Mir Jafar was proclaimed the Nawab of Bengal and installed on the masnad of Murshidabad. Mir Jafar had to pay heavily for the help given to him by the English. Clive received £ 234,000, and the other civil and military officers also received sums in proportion. Moreover, he granted to the company the rights of a Zamindar or landlord over a large track of land to the south of Calcutta, known as the 24 Parganas.

Clive—First Governor of Bengal (1757-60) :—

In 1757, Clive was appointed by the Court of Directors as First Governor of Bengal. During this period Clive prepared the way for the foundation of British sovereignty not only in Bengal but also in southern Indo-Pakistan. After the battle of Plassey Clive installed Mir Jafar, as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Mir Jafar was the nominal head of the Government, the real power behind the throne was Clive. He further succeeded in making the new Nawab entirely dependent on the English by giving him help against the rivals. Thus Clive defeated the Raja of Purnia who rose in rebellion.

The Dutch at Chinsura were jealous of the growth of the English. They had harboured French refugees, and were intriguing with the native powers. Clive was determined to foil their intrigues and arranged an attack on them both by land and water. The Dutch fleet was defeated and captured in the river Hooghly while Col. Forde defeated them on land at Biderra, near Chinsura in November, 1759. Clive also cleared the path for the foundation of British sovereignty in southern Indo-Pak by helping his countrymen to win over the French. In February 1760, Clive, now at the zenith of his fame, returned to England. He remained in England from 1760-1765. He was well received by King George III and William Pitt, the Prime Minister, and created Lord Clive.

Mir Jafar was a mere puppet in the hands of the English. He began his administration with heavy financial obligations to the Company. The Company claimed compensation for the losses suffered by them over the attack on Calcutta, amounting to ten million rupees. Moreover, he had to make huge "presents" to Clive and other officers of the Company. This crippled his resources so much that he found it impossible either

to carry on the Government or to pay off the Company's obligations. Hence the authorities at Calcutta decided to remove him. They also felt sure that a new Nawab placed by them on the "*masnad*" of Bengal would make them handsome presents as Mir Jafar had done. So they engineered another plan to dethrone Mir Jafar and place his the son-in-law Mir Kasim. A secret treaty was accordingly concluded with Mir Kasim on September, 1760. Mir Kasim agreed to pay off the outstanding dues to the Company and to cede the three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. In return for these concessions the English offered him to appoint him as Deputy Subadar and guaranteed his succession to the throne. But Mir Jafar refused to appoint him as Deputy Subadar. Cailland then occupied the Nawab's palace at Murshidabad. The helpless Nawab decided to abdicate rather than yield to the demands of the English. Mir Kasim was then declared Nawab and the revolution of 1760 was thus effected without any bloodshed. The dethronement of Mir Jafar whom the English "were bound to protect by the most solemn ties, divine and human" has been rightly stigmatised as an "indelible stain" on British character.

Mir Kasim and Battle of Buxar :—

Mir Kasim wasun able ruler who fought to get rid of the influence of the English. He improved the position of his province in various ways but soon came into conflict with the British in Calcutta.

Ever since 1717 the English Company had been allowed to conduct its export trade free of duty. But the servants of the Company also demanded the right of trading in country-produce without any duty. They also sold permits of trading to Indian merchants. The result was that the Nawab was deprived of his chief source of income and all his efforts to improve the financial

condition of the country were practically rendered useless. So he now determined to put a stop to it and removed his court to Monghyr. He abolished all transit duties and thereby placed the Indo-Pak and English traders on a footing of equality. This made the English furious and they marched against him and defeated him in successive engagements at Katwah, Murshidabad, Giria, Sooty, Udaynala and Monghyr. Mir Kasim fled first to Patna, then to Oudh. He was replaced in the masnad of Bengal by the old Mir Jafar.

The cause of Mir Kasim was taken up by Shuja-uddaula, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor Shah Alam. But their combined army was defeated by the English General Major Hector Munro at Buxar on 2nd October, 1764. This battle completed the work of Plassey and ensured British supremacy in Bengal and Bihar. Shah Alam was forced to conclude peace with the English. Mir Kasim fled to the north-west where he died in obscurity in 1777 A. D.

So it is aptly said that "Buxar deserves far more than Plassey to be considered as the real origin of the British power in India." Because Plassey was a mere skirmish and the victory of the English was due more to treachery than the superiority of the English arms. But Buxar was a straight fight in which the English demonstrated their military superiority and established their claim to be considered as the conquerors of Bengal. At Plassey Nawab was betrayed by his own officers. But at Buxar the English defeated the combined forces of Mir Kasim, Shujauddaula and the Emperor Shah Alam.

Clive's Second Governorship (1765—67). Mr. Vansittart, Clive's successor, was weak and incompetent, and the Company's officials were greedy and unscrupulous. The deplorable position of affairs in Bengal compelled the Court of Proprietors to send out Clive once again

to restore the fortunes of the Company. He was appointed Governor of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief. Clive had to face political as also as administrative problems. He had to settle the exact nature of British relations with the Mughal Emperor, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Nawab of Bengal. But Clive acted with his usual decisive promptitude.

Clive's Reforms and 'Double Government'. Clive now proceeded to effect a number of reforms. He forced the Company's servants to sign covenants forbidding them to receive presents or to carry on private inland trade. But this prohibition was not strictly enforced. He, however, sanctioned the formation of a 'society of trade', which created a monopoly in betei-leaf, salt and opium, out of which he and other members made enormous profits. He also abolished what was called the 'double batta' system.

But the most important reform introduced by Clive was a system of what was known 'Double Government.' He recognised the formal authority of the titular Emperor, Shah Alam, but at the same time he persuaded the gratified Emperor to confer upon the Company the *Diwani* (*i. e.* the right to collect and administer the revenues) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in exchange of a yearly tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees to the Emperor. By receiving the Diwani from the Emperor, Clive secured for the Company a recognised position and placed its status on a legal basis.

Clive next made an arrangement with the Nawab of Bengal by which the English were entrusted with the defence of the country while the Nawab was to carry on the civil, criminal and police administration. For this purpose the Nawab would be given Rs. 53 lakhs annually. This power of military defence, coupled with the grant of the *Diwani*, made the Company the supreme authority in the kingdom. But the Company did not take over

itself the task of collecting the revenue but left it in the hands of two Deputy Nawabs, Reza Khan in Bengal and Shitab Ray in Bihar. They were under the formal authority of the Nawab but were really controlled by the Company. This was what was called **Double Government** of Clive. But in practice it proved a total failure. The Nawab was saddled with responsibility without power while the Company had power but no responsibility. The Nawab could not exercise effective control while the Company would not do it. None felt responsible for good government, and the division of duties left the people helpless against oppression. The Company cared only for the collection of the revenue, and the people were left to the tender mercies of the native revenue officers and the European supervisors, both of whom proved unscrupulous and tyrannical.

The real motive of Clive in maintaining a show of Double Government was to disguise the real position of the Company and thereby to disarm the jealousy of rival European powers and to delude them into the idea that the Nawab was still the real ruler of Bengal. Moreover, he thought it impossible for the Company to have taken over the full government of Bengal owing to the limited number of the Company's servants and their lack of knowledge of administration.

But Clive soon left Indo-Pakistan. After his departure the Double Government failed. Because the division of duties under the Double Government system made both the Nawab and the English indifferent to the welfare of the people. To add to the misgovernment a terrible famine broke out in 1770 which carried off one-third of the population of Bengal. The Company's officials displayed shocking indifference to the sufferings of the people. Instead they returned to their evil ways and made large profits by buying up rice and retailing it at high prices.

Treaty with the Nawab of Oudh. Clive made peace treaty with the Nawab of Oudh. According to the terms of the treaty of Allahabad, Shujauddula was to pay fifty lakhs to the East India Company for the expenses of the late war, and to enter into a defensive alliance with the Company. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, was put in full possession of Kora and Allahabad. "The settlement with Oudh was the lasting events of Clive's political acts and it remained in the condition of a buffer state till its annexation by Lord Dalhausi on the eve of the Mutiny." (P. E. Roberts).

Estimate of Clive :—

Clive was one of the most striking figures in Indian history. He was self-made. Clive entered the Company as a young clerk in 1744; but during the rival wars between the French and the English he suddenly revealed himself as a great military leader. As Captain, Clive won great military fame by the gallant capture and heroic defence of Arcot, and by his victories at Arni and Kaveripak. As Colonel, Clive displayed the same military genius in Bengal, triumphed over Sirajuddaulah at Calcutta and Hooghly, defeated him at Plassey, and obtained from the new Nawab, Mir Jafar, the cession of the twenty-four Parganas, which was the first step in formation of Bengal Presidency. As Lord, Clive made the Treaty of Allahabad by which he obtained for the English the Diwani of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar.

Clive was not only a soldier, he was also an administrator. It would not be too much to say that he prepared the way for the foundation of British sovereignty in Bengal and in southern India. For he succeeded in making Mir Jafar entirely dependent on the English, so that the latter became the virtual rulers of the country.

By helping the Raja of Vizianagram he defeated the French who never again raised their heads. During his second administrarion of Bengal he introduced many useful reforms affecting both the civilians and the soldiers in the service of the Company. But the most important reform introduced by Clive was a system of what was known 'Double Government.' He has been described as the acquirer of an Indian Empire for Britain but, as Mervyn Davis puts it, just as the Mughal Empire was not the work of Babur but of Akbar, so the British Empire in India was the work not of Clive but of the men who followed him. "His gifts were too limited for the larger task. He had not the sympathy, nor the knowledge, nor the understanding, nor the patience, nor the edurance necessary for the setting up of a great new system."

He has been criticised for the deception of Aminchand. He was too greedy of riches and never scrupled to adopt base means for their acquisition. In the words of Colebrooke, his whole course of dealings with Mir Jafar was "stained with falsehood and treachery throughout." His second governorship was tainted by his unscruplous proceeding regarding the Society of Trade. In spite of these faults, it has been aptly said "His head-long valour on the battlefield, his splendid daring and audicity in a political crisis, his moral courage in facing disaffected and mutinous subordinates, his force and fire in debate, all justify the lofty verdict of Lord Macaulay that England 'has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great, either in arms or in council." (P. E. Roberts).

CHAPTER III

OVERTHROW OF THE MUSLIM RULERS CF MYSORE

After the departure of Clive from India, two men of mediocre ability, Verelst (1767—69) and Cartier (1770—72), ruled the British Possessions f or5 years. "Their periods of office signally uneventful and only revealed the administrative failure of Clive's scheme for a double government." The Nawab was a mere figurehead. Power remained divorced from responsibility. The Company's officials returned to their evil ways and the country began to grow under the weight of oppression, corruption and distress. Trade abuses continued and as Richard Bechar, one of the Company's servants, wrote in 1769, "that this fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government is verging towards ruin." The situation was further aggravated by the terrible famine of 1770 which carried off one third of the population of Bengal. "This terrible calamity, whose ravages two generations failed to repair had far-reaching social and economic effects." Many of the farmers and the old aristocratic families were ruined. Bengal scarcely began to recover its former prosperity till after the Permanent Settlement of 1793.

Rise of Haider Ali :—

In Southern India the small state of Mysore under Haider Ali became then a factor in the power politics. He was a self-made man. He began his career as a Naik in the army of Nanjaraj, the commander-in-chief of the Mysore State, and very soon became his favourite. He took part in the Anglo-French conflict at Trichinopoly and there he gained his experience of the art of war. Having displayed great military ability as a commander of horse, he rose to the rank of Faujdar and in 1761 he usurped all power in the state. He became the virtual

ruler of Mysore, the nominal king being retained as a mere figure-head. Haider now embarked upon a career of conquest and seized Sira, Bidnur, Sunda and other places. But he had to reckon with the Marathas. In 1765, the Marathas, having recovered from their reverse at Panipath, defeated him. The Maratha-Mysore wars of 1764—65, 1766—67, and 1769—72 diminished his power and prestige. But taking advantage of the chaos and confusion in Maratha affairs that followed the demise of Peshwa Madhav Rao, Haider conquered Bellary, Gooty, Chitaldrug. He then proceeded to Malabar to annex Malabar and made an alliance with the Nizam.

First Mysore War (1766—69). The rise of Haider Ali was regarded as a source of danger by the Nizam, the Marathas and the English. But Haider bought off the Marathas and made friendship with the Nizam. The combined forces of Mysore and Hyderabad attacked the English. Thus the First Anglo-Mysore War began. Haider and Nizam were defeated by Colonel Smith in the battles of Changama and Trinomali (1767). The Nizam withdrew and later concluded a separate peace with the English. Haider was not to be so easily thwarted. He did not give up hope but continued the fight, laid waste Carnatic and finally reached Madras. The panic-stricken Madras Council was compelled to make a treaty with Haider. By this treaty (1769) Haider recovered all his lost territories and the two parties promised to help each other in defensive wars.

Second Mysore War (1780-84). Haider Ali took advantage of the crushing defeat which the Marathas suffered at Panipat to gain possession of the large tracts of the Maratha territory. But the young and valiant Peshwa, Madhav Rao I, defeated him, compelled him to restore the territories he had seized, and made him promise to 32 lakhs of rupees in 1764. As Haider Ali failed to pay, the Marathas invaded Mysore, and

defeated him at Cherkuli in 1771. According to the Treaty of Madras, 1769, Haider asked the British to come to his assistance, but the later ignored the treaty obligations. This offended Haider and he could not forget this treacherous act of the English.

In the meantime the American War of Independence broke out and the French joined Americans against the English in 1778. To revenge it, the English in India seized the French settlements including Mahe, a port which was very useful to Haidar Ali for the entry of supplies. Haider remonstrated against the seizure of Mahe by the English but the English paid no heed. This provocation added to Haider Ali's intention to take revenge on the English for their refusal to help him against the Marathas in 1772, inspite of the obligation of the English to help him under the treaty of 1769. So Haider Ali declared war and joined the Nizam into a coalition against the English. Haider Ali burst upon Carnatic which he "swept with the broom of desolation." Munro, the victor of Buxar, retreated in panic to Madras. In 1780, Haider captured Arcot.

But later on Hastings by skilful diplomacy won over the Nizam who again leaving Haider Ali to fight alone made peace with the English. Hastings sent an army from Bengal under Sir Eyre Coote who defeated Haider at *Porto Novo* in 1781. The English then captured Nagapatam and Trincomali from the Dutch. The hope of Haidar soon rose high by the appearance of a French fleet under Suffrein who recovered Trincomali and kept the English busy at sea. Haider took Cuddalore from the English while his son Tipu defeated and captured an English army in 1782. At this juncture Haider Ali suddenly died.

Haider Ali in many ways was a remarkable man, particularly as a soldier and as an administrator. Though

without education, he heed built up a great kingdom for himself in southern India, and had more than once defeated British armies in the field. His son **Tipu** contined the war. He was, however, deprived of French help because in 1783 England and France made peace. Tipu fought single-handed and captured Bidnur and Mangalore. The war dragged on for some time, then peace was restored by the **Treaty of Mangalore** in 1784.

By the Treaty of Mangalore the belligerent parties undertook to release the prisoners they had taken, and to restore lands they had conquered. Thus Tipu Sultan recovered all his lost territories, while the British lost all the advantages which they had gained at Porto Novo, Pollilor and Sholinghur.

The Third Mysore War. In 1788, Cornwallis provoked Tipu by an alliance with the Nizam who asked for English troops under the provision of the treaty of 1768 in order to recover certain of his former territories from Tipu Sultan. But by the Treaty of Mangalore with Tipu (1784), the English had recognised the latter's right to the areas now claimed by the Nizam. Cornwallis, however, to please the Nizam, agreed to lend him troops against Tipu, violating the treaty of Mangalore. At the violation of this treaty by the English, Tipu became furious and commenced hostilities by attacking Travancore, a state which was under the protection of the Company.

Cornwallis then formed a triple alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas against Tipu. At the earlier campaigns Tipu was successful (1790). Cornwallis now himself assumed the command but due to the shortage of supplies he was at a great disadvantage. But the timely arrival of the Marathas with ample supplies saved the situation. In 1792, Cornwalish resumed operations, captured the hill-forts of Tipu and advanced upon Seringapatam, while the Marathas laid waste the Mysore territory.

Tipu finding resistance hopeless made the treaty of Seringapatam (1792). By this treaty Tipu agreed to cede half of his dominions, to pay a large war indemnity and to surrender two of his sons as hostages.

The 4th Mysore War. (1799). After the humilating treaty of Seringapatan, Tipu tried to form an alliance with the French. Being furious at this, Wellesley determined on war and sent armies against Tipu. The Nizam also sent a contingent. Tipu was defeated and fell fighting gallantly. His death removed a formidable enemy of the English.

Wellesley annexed a large portion of the Mysore territory and gave a fragment of it to the Nizam. The remaining portion was handed over to a child of the Hindu royal family which had been dispossessed by Haider Ali. The conquest of Mysore was the most brilliant success of the British power since the days of Clive.

CHAPTER IV

WARREN HASTINGS (1772-1785)

Warren Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal in 1772 and he served India till 1785. His administration falls into two unequal division—the first from April, 1772, to October 1774, when he was Governor of Fort William in Bengal; and the second from October, 1774, to February, 1785, when he became Governor-General under the constitution set up by the Regulation Act. "The career of Warren Hastings has always been, and probably always be, a subject of controversy. His enemies in his life time were fierce, unscrupulous, and relentless. They transcended all reason and decorum in their attacks upon his name and fame. Many of his actions were grotesquely misrapresented, and unworthy motives were freely imputed."*

His early difficulties. Hastings was faced with extraordinary difficulties. The administration was in a state of chaos. The Dual Government introduced by Clive had proved a failure and corruption was rampant everywhere. The English servants of the Company had monopolised the trade while their native agents, who collected the revenue, oppressed the people. To make matters worse, in 1770 a terrible famine swooped down upon the already striken people, and one-third of the population is said to have died. The revenue of the Company was defrauded, the treasury was almost empty. The Judicial department was badly managed. The Marathas recovered much of their power and joined Emperor Shah Alam who had left the British protection. In the south, Haider Ali was meditating revenge for the British perfidy. In the words of Smith, "every thing was wrong,"

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* P. E. Roberts—History of British India.

Administrative Reform. Such unhappy was the state of thing when Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal. But he was equal to the situation. Sir Alfred Lyall says that he 'showed a genius for pioneering administration.'

He first turned to the question of settling the revenue. The Court of Directors having decided "to stand forth as Diwan" (*i. e.* the collector of revenue through their own agents). Hastings removed from office Raja Khan and Raja Sitab Rai who were respectively the Deputy Nawabs of Bengal and Bihar. Hastings then entrusted the collection and supervision of revenue to English officials called collectors. posted in districts. A Board of Revenue was established and the treasury was transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta. Hastings next made a quinquennial settlement of the land revenue granting leases to the highest bidders for five years. This was replaced ln 1777 by annual settlements.

But The glorious achievement of Warren Hasting as Governor was the creation of judicial court. He established a civil and a criminal court in each district. The English Collectors dispensed civil law while the criminal courts were presided over by the Indians. He also set up two courts of appeal in Calcutta, *viz*, the *Sadr Diwani Adalat* for civil cases and *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* for the criminal cases. The *Sadr Diwani Adalat* was presided over by the Governor-General and the two members of the Council while the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* was presided over by an Indo-Pakistani judge. The changes were carried through with conspicuous ability, and Warren Hastings firmly laid (in the words of Sir William Hunter) "the foundation of the system of civil administration, on which the superstructure was raised by Cornawallis."

He cut down the allowance of the Nawab of Bengal to one-half. He discontinued the tribute payable to Emperor Shah Alam. He took away the districts of Allahabad and Kora from the Emperor and sold them to the Nawab of Oudh for rupees fifty lakhs. Five Central Custom Houses were set up at Calcutta, Hooghly, Patna, Dacca etc. He introduced the uniform rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ p. c. on all goods except the monopolies of salt, betel nut and tobacco.

The Regulatiou Act. In 1773 the Company was faced with great financial distress and forced to apply to the British Ministry for a loan of £ 1,000,000. This caused a great sensation, for India was supposed to be fabulously rich. Committees, appointed to report on the state of the Company's affairs, revealed awful mismanagement of things. Lord North took the opportunity of bringing the Company under the control of the Home Government and so in 1773 the British Parliament passed the famous Regulating Act (1773). By it *(a)* the Directors were required to lay before the King's ministers copies of all material correspondence concerning the civil, military and revenue affairs of the Company. *(b)* The Governor of Bengal was to be the Governor-General of the Company's possessions in India and was to be assisted and controlled by a Council of four members. Decisions were to be taken by the majority. *(c)* The Governor-General and the Council were to have controlling power over the other Presidencies in their relations with the native powers. *(d)* A Supreme Court of Judicature was set up at Calcutta consisting of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges.

Defects of the Act. When the Regulating Act was put to the test it proved a failure. The Regulating Act was the beginning of Parliamentary encroachment upon the rights of the Company.

It subjected the Company to a definite Parliamentary

control. The Act, however, was defective in many points. It was a "half-measure and disastrously vague in many points." It did not clearly define the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, nor the law it had to administer, nor its relations to the Council. Hence arose constant conflicts between the Council and the Supreme Court. Another great defect was that the Council had the power to bring about a deadlock in the executive by out-voting the Governor-General who could not do anything if his decision was overruled. This was a serious flaw as no special powers were given to the Governor-General to tide over emergencies. Lastly, the control given to the Governor-General over other Presidencies was vague and indeterminate.

Hastings and the Council. In 1774, Warren Hastings was appointed first Governor-General under the Regulating Act. He was given four colleagues, Barwell, General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Sir Philip Francis. Sir Elijah Impey was made Chief Justice. Unfortunately, all of Hastings' Council-members except Barwell were bitterly opposed to him, and thwarted him at every turn. Though at the head of the administrator, he had frequently to carry out a policy which he disapproved. Endless difficulties were caused by the failure of the Regulating Act to define clearly the relative powers of the High Court and the Executive Government. This led to continual clashes between the two authorities. The climax of the whole struggle was the case of Raja Nanda Kumar in which the Council entertained charges brought against Hastings by Raja Nanda Kumar.

The Case of Raja Nanda Kumar :—

Raja Nanda Kumar was a Brahmin of high rank and influence. In 1775, he accused Hastings of accepting a bribe from Munni Begum, wife of Mir Jafar, in return for

her appointment as the guardian of the young Nawab, Mubaraquddaula. Hastings refused to he tried before his own Council and when the majority persisted, he declared the Council dissolved. Hastings now brought a charge of conspiracy against Nanda Kumar. While he was waiting trial, one Mohan Prasad accused him of forgery. According to the English law of those days, forgery was a criminal offence, and Nanda Kumar was condemned and hanged. But it was morally wrong to punish Nanda Kumar under a foreign law. P. E. Roberts remarks: "It is very doubtful whether the Supreme Court had any jurisdiction over the natives and there is practically no doubt at all that the English law making forgery a capital crime was not operative in India till many years after Nanda Kumar's alleged forgery had been committed." The same learned another admits that Hastings had actually received 1,50,000 rupees from Munni Begum.

The Rohillas War (1773—74) :—

This led to an action on the part of Hastings which was severely criticised at the time of his trial. He agreed to lend the Nawab of Oudh a brigade of troops to protect Oudh which acted as a buffer state for Bengal from the Marathas and other enemies. The Nawab, with Hastings' consent, used this brigade in order to annex the fertile province of Rohilkhand, on the upper waters of the Ganges, and to drive out the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe which had overrun the province about thirty-five years back.

Hastings was wrong in principle to hire out English troops to Indian princes for the purposes of carrying out scheme of conquest. Hastings broke the rule of the Directors by engaging in Indian warfare. Hastings was hardly right in declaring that he was in duty-bound to help the Nawab. Moreover, the Rohillas cannot

be accused of having in any way offended the English.

The First Anglo-Maratha War (1775—82):—

Hasting's policy was not to expand the Company's possessions but to consolidate and strengthen what it had already got. Hastings was constantly involved in difficulties by reason of the doings of the corrupt and inefficient Governments of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, which constantly permitted themselves to become entangled in wars with the neighbouring Indian States.

After the death of Madhava Rao, his brother Narayan Rao became Peshwa in 1772. This succession was opposed by the deceased Peshwa's uncle Raghunath Rao or Reghoba and at his instigation Narayan Rao was mudered. But a rival party headed by Nana Farnavis took up the cause of the posthumous son of Narayan Rao and formed a council of regency in his name. Raghoba then appealed for help to the English at Bombay and concluded the Treaty of Surat on the 7th March, 1775, by which Raghoba promised to offer Salsette and Bassien to the Bombay Government. The force which set out for the purpose allowed itself to be surrounded by the Marathas while ascending the Ghauts, and the leaders signed a most humiliating treaty at Wargaon (1779). When Hastings heard about this, it almost made him 'sink with shame'. He at once dispatched an army under Colonel Goddard, which marched right across India from Bengal to Surat —a wonderful performance in those days, and occupied Ahmadabad and took Bassein. Another force, under Major Popham, accomplished the remarkable feat of surprising and capturing Sindhia's great fortress of Gwalior, which was thought to be impregnable. These reverses inclined Sindhia to make peace with the

English and he undertook to negotiate a treaty between the English and the Poona Government.

The first Anglo-Maratha war thus was brought to a close by the famous *Treaty of Salbai* in 1782. By it the English restored all the territories which they had conquered since the Treaty of Purandar except Salsette which they retained. The recognised Madhava Rao Narayan as the rightful Peshwa and had to give up the cause of Raghoba who was pensioned off. Sindhia got back all the territories west of Jamuna. In other respects the *status quo* was maintained. Hastings' Maratha policy was ill-advised. This costly war brought the English no gain. It exhausted the Company's treasury and drove Hastings to those arbitrary expedients of raising money which led to his impeachment.

Pitt's India Act (1784) :—

The British Government was still dissatisfied with the way in which the Indian affairs were conducted, and determined to exercise closer supervision. William Pitt, the Prime Minister, therefore brought in a Bill, the effect of which was to place Indian affairs under a small committee of three senior Directors, supervised by a Board of Control appointed by the Crown. In practice, the President of the Board of Control, the forerunner of the Secretary of State for India, was to exercise all the power, the Directors merely retaining the right of making appointments. Thus the control over Indian affairs passed into the hands of the Ministry.

Retirement of Hastings—His Impeachment :—

By the Pitt's India Act the Indian administration was entrusted with the Parliament. Hastings who did not approve this Act, asked permission to

retire in 1785. On his return, his political enemies brought charges against him such as corruption, acceptance of presents and bribes, oppression in the case of Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh. The trial opened at Westminster Hall in 1788 nnd continued upto 1795. In the end Hastings was acquitted of all charges. He was, however, nearly ruined by the expenses involved and he breathed his last in 1818 at the ripe old age of eighty-six.

Estimate of Hastings :—

Warren Hastings was one of the greatest Anglo-Indian rulers. After coming to power, he was placed in difficulties and exposed to temptations, such as few statesmen have been called upon to overcome and emerged triumphantly. His chief characteristics were a lofty sense of duty, unwearied zeal for the service of his country, and a cool and serene courage which seemed to rise the higher, when the darker the crisis he was called upon to confront. His greatest service to India was his clear realization of the fundamental principles upon which the new government he sought to build up. These are : Firstly, there must be no power without responsibility. Secondly, by appealing to the good sense of the Company's servants he converted them from rapacious adventurers to res-ponsible officers. Lastly, he saw that it was in the interests of England no less than India to give the peasant orderly rule, justice and freedom. His administration was assuredly popular, both with his countrymen and the natives of Bengal.

He was a great patron of art and literature. He was a good Persian scholar. He also knew Urdu and Bengali, and had some acquaintance with Arabic. He founded the Madrasha in Calcutta, and established the Royal Asiatic society. He has been justly described as

the ablest of the able men who gave to England the Indian Empire.

Macpherson (1786)) :—

After the departure of Hastings in February, 1785, Sir John Macpherson, the senior member of the Council, succeeded him as the temporary Governor-General. His administration lasted for twenty months.

CHAPTER V

LORD CORNWALLIS

(1786—1793)

After the retirement of Warren Hastings, the Directors decided that the proper policy was to appoint as Governor-General a distinguished statesman, unconnected with the Company. On this occasion their choice fell on Lord Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis was a good general and greatly respected for his ability and honesty. He was a man of strong personality and high ambition. Lord Cornwallis was the first Governor-General who became virtually independent of the Council. His aim and policy was to reform, not to wage any war. P. E. Roberts rightly remarks, "His sole aim was to do what he conceived to be his duty adequately and without parade..."

His Reforms :—

Reform of the Public Service. He introduced many useful reforms in administration. He first took the task of reform and organisation of covenanted civil service. Under Warren Hastings the "whole of system of the government over which he presided was corrupt and full of abuses." Nepotism and corruption were rampant among the Company's servants. They continued to carry on the forbidden private trade. Their salaries were low while their commissions were large. Cornwallis put a stop to their commissions and placed them above the temptation of underhand dealings by increasing their salary. At the same time he laid down stringent rules of conduct for Company's servants. These are (a) Residents should be contractors, but worked as sub-ordinate of the Board. (b) The collectors were paid maximum rates of salary. (c) All direct and indirect trading by the collectors

had been forbidden by the Directors (in 1787).(d) Trade was to be conducted by the Company's commercial residents. (e) Cornwallis held the commercial residents responsible that the Indians were not oppressed and that local and foreign traders received just treatment. Thus he purified the administration.

Judicial Reforms. His most important undertaking was the reform of the judicial system. "In the organisation of the Judicial Courts, civil and criminal" remarks P. E. Robert, "Cornwallis completed the work begun by Warren Hastings" He brought a radical change in the judicial administration. He set up a hierarchical judiciary. The lowest courts, presided over by Indian Munsifs and *Sadr Amins*, tried petty civil cases. Above them were the District Courts under British Judges who were aided by Indian assessors. Cornwallis abolished the criminal jurisdiction of the Deputy Nawab or *Naib Nazim*. He instituted four Provincial Courts of Appeal at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca. These Courts were presided over by European Judges who were also aided by Indian assessors. They tried criminal cases and heard appeals from the District Courts. At the top of all these courts was the *Sadr Diwani Adalat* which formed the final court of appeal in civil cases. In criminal cases the highest court of appeal was the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat*.

The power of the Collectors was greatly reduced. They were deprived of all judicial and magistrial powers and their duties were confined to purely revenue work. Thus the executive and judicial powers of the Company's servants were separated and vested in separate officers. The Collectors and other officers of the Government were made amenable to the courts for acts done in their official capacities.

His judicial reforms and the elaborate code of Regulations for the guidance of officials, formed what is known

as the Cornwallis Code. This code was no doubt salutary. But the "radical error" of his system was the exclusion of the man of the soil from all but the most subordinate posts in the public service. Indians were deliberately excluded from offices involving trust and responsibility.

Cornwallis laid the foundations of the modern police force. In 1791 Superientendents of Police were created for Calcutta. Small areas were put under Darogas who were placed at the head of police stations. They were to be subject to the control of District Magistrate. The zemindars were thus deprived of the power and responsibility of maintaining peace within their jurisdiction and were forced to disband their police force.

Thus Cornwallis deprived the Indians of all share in the administration. Till now the administration of the criminal justice and the duty of maintaining peace and order were in the hands of the Indians—the Naib Nazim and the Zeminders. These duties were now transferred to European officers.

The Permanent Settlement :—

The most important of the reforms of Lord Cornwallis was the introduction, in 1793, of his great measure for the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. The existing system of revenue to the highest bidders at first for five years and then for one year as adopted by Hastings proved extremely unsatisfactory. It made the revenue of the Company precarious and fluctuating. Hence the Directors expressed their preference for a permanent settlement.

Cornwallis in pursuance of the instructions of the Directors made a decennial settlement in 1789. In 1793, he declared the existing settlement permanent. Thus was carried out the famous *Permanent Settlement* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The chief features of

the measure were that the zemindars, who had hitherto been mere collectors of revenue, were declared proprietors of the soil and that the revenue payable by them was fixed in perpetuity. They may be evicted only on the ground of non-payment of revenue. Cornwallis thought that the grant of proprietory right would induce the zemindars to invest capital on land for improving it. Besides, a permanent settlement would create a body of zemindars strongly attached to the Company's rule.

The permanent settlement, in contrast to the chaotic system which it supplanted, had many fairly obvious advantages. "It has avoided the evils of periodical settlement which, at however long intervals, produce economic dislocation, evasion and deliberate throwing of land out of cultivation." It ensured a regular and certain sources of the revenue to the Government. Moreover, it secured the loyalty of the Zemindar to the Government. The zemindars became enormously rich and helped to the progress of culture and education. But, the Permanent Settlement has the following defects :

First, by recognising the zemindars alone, it ignored the ancient rights of ryots and left them at the mercy of the newly-created landlords who became later on oppressive to the people. "Though Cornwallis endeavoured to some extent to mitigate, in the interests of the roybs, the hardship of an economic rent, it cannot be said that he was very successful. Their status undoubtedly repaired, and it was not until 1859 that the Bengal Land Act afforded them any relief. "A very great blunder as well as gross injustice," remarks Beveridge, "was commited when a settlement was made with zemindars alone..." *Secondly*, the revenue to be paid by the zemindars being permanently fixed, it caused considerable financial loss inasmuch as it deprived the Government of a share in the increasing value of the of land. *Thirdly*, the rigid punctuality of the payment

of revenue enforced by law caused great hardship and ruined many zemindars. *Lastly*, the hope that was entertained that the zemindars would improve and develop their estates, had not been realised. To sum up the results of the settlement it may be said that it assured the welfare of the zemindar, postponed the claims of the ryot, and sacrificed the interest of the government. Owing to these defects of the system, the zemindary has been recently abolished.

As to merits of this famous Permanent Settlement historians are divided. Hunter has pointed to the imperfections in form and also the fundamental errors that vitiated the settlement. Dr. Smith is of opinion that "Cornwallis introduced his permanent settlement and effected a revolution without intending it." J. C. Marshman says, "It was bold, brave and wise measure." On the other hand, Holmes says, "the Permanent Settlement was a sad blunder." In the words of Thronton, "the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis was concluded under the influence of an extra-ordinary degree of ignorance."

Foreign Policy of Carnwallis :—

In his foreign policy Cornwallis sought to maintain the neutrality and peace which was consonant with the provisions of the Pitt's India Act of 1784 i. e., "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation." But circumstances compelled him to come into clash with Tipu and the one important political event of Cornwallis's term of office was the Third Anglo-Mysore War (alread discussed).

Estimate of Cornwallis :—

Cornwallis was a man of high moral character. He deserves a prominent place in the history of modern India. He came out with the intention of avoiding war and devoting himself to the reform of the Company's

service. He purified the administration by removing all the corruption. He is still remembered for his enduring monuments like reorganisation of the civil service, establishment of the District Courts, reformation of judicial and police administration and establishment Permanent Settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But the exclusion of the Indians from high posts was a short sighted-measure.

Sir John Shore (1793-1798) :—

In 1793 Lord Cornwallis retired. He handed over the government to Sir John Shore. Sir John Shore, a civil servant of the Company at Calcutta, was a man of a peaceful disposition and, under strict orders from the court of Directors in England, was determined to uphold the policy of 'non-intervention.' The five years during which he held office were disastrous for British prestige. Tipu Sultan, no longer in awe of the Company's forces, spent the period in plotting to get back his lost power. The French were becoming more and more influential at the courts of Sindhia and the Nizam, where French officers were drilling Indian regiments. The Bhonsle Raja at Naghpur was preparing to join against the Britsh. Misgovernment was ramphant everywhere, and the revenues were falling off. Sir John Shore was recalled in 1798.

CHAPTER VI

LORD WELLESLEY
(1798—1805)

In 1798, the Directors appointed Earl of Mornington, better known as Lord Wellesley as Governor-General. He was a young man, only thirty-seven years old, but he had already served on the Board of Control, and had gained considerable insight into Indian affairs. His period of office was one of the most critical and eventful in the history of Indo-Pakistan, and it marked the final stage in the struggle for supremacy between the British and the Indian rulers. Owing to the policy of non-intervention pursued by John Shore, the influence of the French at the courts of Indian rulers increased to the extent of a serious menace to the British power. Tipu was negotiating with the French Governor of Mouritius and Reunion. The Nizam, estranged by Shore's desertion, was organising a body of regular troops under a French officer named Raymond. Sindhia had a powerful army trained and commanded by another Frenchman named Perror. Even in Burma, French influence was reviving,

His Policy—Subsidiary Alliance and His Imperialism :—

Wellesley came to India with determination to make the English the paramount power in India, and to crush forever all French intrigues in the courts of the Indian princes. He was a true imperialist. He was convinced of the superiority of the British rule to any form of Indian government. He gave up the policy of Non-Intervention and the idea of a balance of power by which his predecessors had sought to hold the Indian princes in check. To achieve his object he boldly adopted the policy of annexation and subsidiary alliances.

Small and weak kingdoms were to be annexed while the powerful states should be induced or forced to enter to Subsidiary Alliances. It was Wellesley's conscientious "conviction that no greater blessing can be conferred on the native inhabitants of Indo-Pakistan than the extention of British authority, influence and power." With this conviction he introduced the Subsidiary Alliance. It was not originally devised by Wellesley; the Subsidiary system had already been applied in particular instances both by Clive and Warren Hastings. Yet it is specially connected with Wellesley's name, because he perfected it and made an extensive use of it. The Subsidiary Alliance means the "subordination of the allied Prince to British Government in external policy and foreign relations, the maintenance and payment of a contingent of Company's troops, and dismissal of the officers belonging to other European nations." In return for all these, the Company guaranteed the territorial integrity and internal freedom of the subsidiary states. In a word, the subsidiary state surrendered its political independence in return for British protection.

His imperialistic policy was directed towards combating French intrigues in this sub-contenint and crippling the power of local princes. At that time there were three leading powers in this country. These were the Nizam, Tipu and the Marathas,

Subsidiary Alliance with Nizam. The Nizam, the first Indian native power, was induced to join this system. He was very weak and feeble, and so without any delay, he accepted the principle of Subsidiary alliance. Thus he was reduced to complete dependence on the British. The Nizam agreed to pay a subsidy of Rs 24,17,000 per annum, to expel all European officers of non-British origin, and to conduct his foreign relations according to British advice.

Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799). Wellesley now turned his attention to Tipu, the ruler of Mysore. Tipu was asked to accept the Subsidiary Alliance by Wellesley, but he flatly refused. Moreover, he was making an intrigue with the French and the Afghans to oust the English out of Indo-Pakistan. As a result of this, some French men joined Tipu's service. Hearing this Wellesley became furious and at once determined to wage war on him. This was the **Fourth Anglo-Mysore War.** This war was of a very short duration but quite decisive. The English defeated and killed Tipu and captured his kingdom which was later on divided between the English and the Nizam. 'The conquest of Mysore was the most brilliant success of the British power since the days of Clive."

The Maratha Confiderancy—Second Anglo-Maratha War (1802-57). But the greatest achievement of Wellesley was the destruction of the Maratha Confederacy. Baji Rao II fled from Poona into the Konkan, arrived at Bassein, and concluded a treaty of Subsidiary Alliance with the British in 1802. A subsidiary force of not less than 6,C00 was to be permanently stationed in the Peshwa's dominions. Districts yielding 26 lakh of rupees were assigned for payment of this force.

The other Maratha Chiefs, Raghuji Bhonsle of Berar, Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao of Holkar—were not prepared to submit tamely and they made a confederacy against the English. Baji Rao also joined with them. Thus the Second Anglo-Maratha War broke out. In the war, the Marathas were defeated and forced to submit to the Subsidiary Alliance. The Maratha Confederancy was thus completely destroyed.

Annexation or Forward policy of Lord Wellesley. He through his policy of Subsidiary Alliance and his 'forward policy' extended the British control over the Nawab of Oudh and the Peshwa, and brought

Carnatic, Tanjore and Surat under the direct rule of the Company. He also broke the power of Sindhia and Raja of Berar. He made annexation right and left without any qualms of conscience. Beveridge remarks that "the whole proceeding was characterised by tyranny and injustice." Regarding the annexation of Surat Mill rightly observes that "it was the most unceremonious act of dethronement which the English had yet performed, as the victim was the weakest and most obscure." Similarly his treatment of Oudh has been condemned by many historians like Wilson and Alfred Lyall. In a word, he made the British Government paramount power in India. Thus Wellesley's acheivements entitled him to a place in the front rank of the British rulers.

Criticism of the Policy of Subsidiary Alliance. The Subsidiary System was eminently successful in firmly establishing British supremacy and to make it a vast paramount power in Indo-Pakistan. It strengthened the position of the Company and relieved its finances 'by making the native Princes to themselves defray the expenses of the troops by which they were to be overawed.'

The weakness of this system lay in the fact that the ruler, being guaranteed in the possession of his dominions and deprived of all essential attributes of sovereignty, lost the stimulus to good government. Moreover, Wellesley carried out his policy with high handedness and brutality. His treatment to the Nawab of Oudh and the Nawab of Surat sufficiently provesd his imperious temper and high handedness.

Estimate of Wellesley :—

Lord Wellesley was one of the greatest of the British rulers of India. He was the most successful imperialist in British Indian history. Smith says,

"Lord Wellesley, like Lytton and Duffrin in later times, looked upon the affairs of India as seen by a British noble man and politician from a foreign office point of view." He was a statesman, rather than an administrator, concerned chiefly with matters of high policy and little inclined to examine closely the details of departmental administration. But Wellesley was conscious of the need of a strong and efficient system of administration. His regime constituted a landmark in the history of the development of the British Civil Service in Indo-Pakistan. By establishing the Fort William College, he tried to secure better training and education for the civil servants.

It is true that his military compaigns absorbed well-nigh all his energies and made it impossible for him to devote much time to the consideration of local improvements that might benefit the people of the country. Nevetheless, such general measures as he took made it clear that he had the welfare of the people of India at heart. For example, he cut short the lucrative practice of the military and civil servants of the Company, who were only too eager to lend money to Indian princes at exorbitant rates of interest. He also insisted that all the servants of the Company who were to hold responsible posts in the subsidiary states or in the English territories should receive a proper training. Finally, he prohibited the sacrificial exposure of children in the waters of the Ganges, and made a preliminary inquiry into the practice of Suttee with a view to adopting measures for its suppression.

Estimate of Tipu Sultan —:.

Tipu was a gifted man. A man of sound moral character, he had an intense faith in God. He was an excellent Persian scholar and maintained a big

library. A valiant soldier and a tactful general, Tipu was a diplomat of no mean order. He was the cleverest and most determined of all the opponents of the British. He realized the danger of foreign domination and devoted all his energies snd resources to fighting the British, though he was unsuccessful as no other Indian power supported him. He died the death of a hero, fighting the British at the Battle of Seringapatam, in 1799.

CHAPTER VII

LORD CORNWALLIS, SIR GEORGE BARLOW AND LORD MINTO
(1805—1813)

Second Governor-Generalship of Cornwallis (1805) :—

Lord Wellesley was recalled in 1805 and was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis who consented to return once more to India. "The re-appointment of Cornwallis marked a toal reversion from Wellesley's policy of interference to the policy of non-intervention." He hastened to end the hostilities with Holkar and to pacify Sindhia. "He decided to abondon Gwalior and Gohud to Sindhia, to make the Jumna the British frontier, to desert Jaipur and the other Rajput states and to give Maratha bandits a free hand. But Cornwallis did not survive to put his plan in action; he died within three months of his arrival in India.

Sir George Barlow (1805—1807) :—

After the death of Lord Cornwallis, Sir George Barlow acted as Governor-General. He strictly followed the policy of 'non-intervention', or peace at any price. He made peace with Holkar and Sindhia. Moreover, he ignored the services which the Rajputs had rendered to the English during the Maratha Wars and, bound himself by a treaty with Holkar not to oppose the Marathas in the Rajputana. In one instance alone did he absolutely refuse to follow the non-intervention policy to the bitter end. He continued steadfastly to refuse the rescission of the treaty of Bassein.

Vellore Mutiny. During his tenure of office, much uneasiness was caused by the disorderly conduct of both English officers and Sepoys in the Madras army. A mutiny occurred among the sepoys in Vellore, in which about one hundred Europeans were murdered, and matters

were complicated by the presence in that town of the sons of Tipu Sultan. Colonel Gillespie hurried from Arcot to the relief of Vellore, and in the fighting which ensued 400 sepoys were killed. Peace was quickly restored and the ring-leaders were punished. The members of Tipu Sultan's family, who were suspected of being implicated in the mutiny, were removed to Calcutta. The Governor of Madras and the local Commander-in-Chief were both recalled to England.

Lord Minto (1807—13) :—

Lord Minto was appointed as Governor-General in 1807. He found the whole country in the state of disorder. A rebellion broke out in Travancore, in the course of which the British Resident and others lost their lives. Troubles also occured in Budelkhand.

He was committed to the policy of non-intervention, and during his tenure of office he made an honest attempt to eschew the policy of conquest ushered in by Lord Wellesley. But soon he realised that the policy of non-intervention was a dangerous failure, and have to be abandoned without delay. As Malcolm, a contemporary writer observes: "The Government of Lord Minto had no result more important than the impression it conveyed to the authorities at home, of the utter impracticability of perseverance in that neutral policy they had desired to pursue."

The Rise of Ranjit Singh :—

The last great independent power in India was that of the Sikhs. After the evacuation of the Punjab by Ahmad Shah Durrani, they built up a number of misls or confederacies, each under its elected Sardar, on the banks of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh who was destined to knit them together into a powerful kingdom,

was born in 1780, and became a soldier at the age of twelve. "A born leader of men, gifted with an iron will, selfish, treacherous, crafty, preserving, brave, and avaricious, he possessed just that combination of virtues and vices which is best adapted for building up an Oriental Empire." (P. E. Roberts). When he was nineteen, the Afghan ruler Zaman Shah of Kabul made him Governor of Lahore with the title of Raja. Ranjit Singh determined to use the religious enthusiasm for his countrymen to build up a great army, and for this purpose he engaged a number of European officers. Eventually he had 80,000 trained men, and nearly 500 guns. With this army he took Multan and Peshawar, beat the Afghans, and overrun Kashmir.

Lord Minto and Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh's territory extended upto the Sutlej river. In the territory known as Sirhind, between the Sutlej and the Jumna, lay certain Sikh states which were under the protection of the Company. Upon these, Ranjit Singh cast covetous eyes, and taking advantage of some quarrels, he crossed the Sutlej in 1806. Thereupon, the chiefs appealed to the British for help. At first it seemed as though war was inevitable, but Lord Minto sent a clever young civilian named Metcalfe who in 1809 persuaded Ranjit Singh to accept the Sutlej as the boundary between the two countries, and to agree to a treaty of 'perpetual amity.' A British outpost was established at Ludhiana, and the Punjab served as a useful buffer state between the British territory and any possible invaders from the north-west. To the end of his life, Ranjit Singh observed this treaty known as the Treaty of Amritsar.

Foreign Missions and Wars :—

During all this time, England was at war with France. Napoleon had sent a mission to Persia in order to win over the Shah, so that he might make use of

him to cause trouble to the English in their colonies. Lord Minto therefore sent Sir John Malcolm to the Shah of Persia, and persuaded him to dismiss the French ambassador and agree to resist the passage of European troops through Persia for the invasion of India. Elphinstone was sent on a similar mission to Shah Shuja, the Amir of Afghanistan, at Peshawar, and a similar treaty was made with the Amirs of Sind. Fortunately the fears of a French invasion by land were dissipated with Napoleon's army perished in the retreat from Moscow in 1812.

The period of Lord Minto's administration coincided with the Napoleonic war. Taking the advantage of the war the English captured a number of the French islands on the east coast of Africa and also captured Java. But Java later returned in 1815 in exchange for the Dutch colonies on the Indian mainland. The Cape of Good Hope, however, was permanently retained, as prior to the opening of the Suez Canal it was an important stopping place for ships going to India. Thus the foreign policy of Minto was crowned with brilliant success.

Estimate of Lord Minto :—

Lord Minto retired in 1813, but died soon afterwards. His career had been a brilliant one. He had done his best to maintain the policy of non-intervention and his negotiations with Ranjit Singh were a diplomatic triumph. He had averted all hopes of the re-establishment of the French power in India, and had expelled them from their eastern possessions. It was also during his regime that Thomas Munro adopted the ryotwary system as the revenue system of the Madras Presidency. At the closing years of Minto's tenure of office, the Company's Charter was renewed for another term of 20 years.

CHAPTER VIII

LORD HASTINGS
(1813—1823)

Lord Minto was succeeded in 1813 by Lord Moira who was created Marquess of Hastings in 1817. He is undoubtedly one of the greatest rulers sent by England to govern Indo-Pakistan. He showed surprising industry and energy in the discharge of his duties. He was opposed to Wellesley's policy of expansion and he came to Indo-Pakistan to continue the peaceful work of Cornwallis, Barlow and Minto. But circumstances compelled him to change his policy, and he left the British Empire in India much larger than he found it. Though he was an aggressive champion of British paramountcy, he was not an annexationist. During his time two important wars were fought, one with the Nepalese or Gurkhas, the other with the Marathas. He also suppressed the Pindary revolt.

British Relations with Nepal—The Nepal War (1814-16):—

Prithvi Narayan, a Gurkha chief, conquered Nepal in 1768 and since then it was under his dynasty. In 1792, a commercial treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Gurkhas. Another commercial treaty was concluded some years later, and Captain Knox served as Resident at Katmundu for two years (1802-4). But he was recalled by Wellesley and the alliance was cancelled.

The Gurkhas controlled the entire belt of Himalayan territory from the Tista in the east to the Sutlej in the west. They took advantage of the non-intervention policy to make inroads into British territory, and between the years 1791 and 1813 they had forcibly occupied no less than two hundred villages on the Gangetic plains. When Lord Minto had joined the Java expedition, the

Gurkhas occupied large territories in the State of Oudh. When Lord Hastings had become Governor-General, his first task was to punish the Gurkhas of Nepal. He insisted on an immediate surrender by the Gurkhas of every inch of British territory. When the request was turned down, war was declared.

The campaign was a difficult one. The foothills of the Himalayas are covered with trackless jungles, infested with wild beasts and fear of Malaria. The English soldiers were unused to hill-fighting, and the Gurkhas were brave and skilful. After many reverses, in 1814 General Ochterlony fought his way up the passes, and next year reached Katmundu, the Gurkha capital. The Gurkhas signed the treaty of Sagauli in 1816, by which they surrendred the Terai, withdrew from Sikkim and agreed to receive a British Resident. One valuable result was the acquisition of the hill stations of Simla, Mussorie and Naini Tal. Nepal never broke the terms of the treaty of 1816. By a treaty with Sikkim (Feb, 1818) a portion of the Terai taken from the Gurkhas was given to the ruler of that State.

The Pindari War (1817—18) :—

Even more serious was the menace caused by the Pindaris in Central India. They were the refuse of the armies of various Indian states which had been disbanded under the policy of 'Subsidiary Alliances'. A host of Pindaris or irregulars had followed the Marathas to Panipat in 1761. "They were of no common race or religion, and included Afghans, Marathas, Arabs, Jats, members of the criminal tribes, and outlaws of every description." In the early years of the last century they were grouped under different leaders, of whom Karim Khan Chitu, Dost Muhammad, Namdar Khan, Shaikh Dullu became conspicuous. Encouraged by the non-intervention policy of the British Government they

ravaged central Indo-Pakistan and plundered the Nizam's territories. In 1816 the Pindaris devastated British territory in the northern Sarkars.

Hastings found it imperatively necessary to crush them. He collected a huge army of 120,000 men and inflicted a crushing defeat upon them. Karim Khan surrendered and was granted an estate in U. P. Chitu took refuge in a jungle near Asirgarh, where he was killed by a tiger. Amir Khan had concluded peace before the outbreak of war and he was made Nawab of Tonk in Rajputana. Thus Malcolm wrote about five years later...... "the Pindaries are so effectively destroyed that their name is almost forgotten."

The Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-19) :—

Since the treaty of Bassien, Baji Rao II had been intriguing to free himself from British control. The Peshwa, one of the most treacherous and cowardly of his line, had fallen under the influence of an unscrupulous minister, Trimbakji. In July 1815, Trimbakji treacherously murdered the minister of the Gaikwar of Baroda, who visited Poona under British protection to settle some disputed claims; Trimbakji's guilt was certain and Baji Rao's complicity was strongly suspected. The British Resident at Poona was Elphinstone who promptly demanded the arrest of Trimbakji. The Peshwa, however, delivered Trimbakji up to the British authorities, but a year later he made a escape from the prison. It was strongly suspected that the Peshwa was in communication with him. Elphinstone forced him to sign a more rigorous subsidiary treaty involving the cession of territory and an explicit renunciation of all claims to the supreme place among the Maratha powers. This was too much for Baji Rao who now rose in rebellion, attacked and burnt the British Residency. But he was defeated at

Kirki and compelled to flee southwards. Meanwhile Apa Sahib of Nagpur and Holkar declared war against the English. Apa Sahib was defeated at *Sitabaldi* and forced to surrender. The final operations were, however, directed against the fugitive Peshwa whose gallant general Gokhale gave battle to the English at Ashti but was defeated and killed. The Peshwa's whole army was repulsed by a tiny British force at a place called Koregaon near Poona, and after this he was hunted from place to place by the British cavalry, until at last he surrendered to Sir John Malcolm. Thus the mighty Maratha empire, which had one time dominated India, was at last brought to an end.

The English annexed the dominions of Baji Rao. He was sent to Bithur near Cawnpur, with the allowance of £ 80,000 a year. The Deccan was annexed and became part of the Bombay Presidency, with the exception of the little kingdom of Satara, where the descendant of Shivaji was restored his throne under British protection. Apa Sahib was dethroned and new Raja was appointed in his place. Sindhia was humbled. Holkar was given half of his original possessions. Thus the power of the Maratha chief was crushed for ever.

Reforms of Lord Hastings :—

Lord Hastings was not merely a conqueror. He at once set himself to reorganise the territories which he had rescued from Pindari and Maratha tyranny. Elphinstone and a band of able administrators took charge of the Deccan, while Sir John Malcolm was at work in Central India and Sir Thomas Munro carried out the ryotwari settlement in Madras. In educational matters, Lord Hastings anticipated Lord Bentinck. He declared that 'it would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order

to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the multitude.' He took very attentive steps for the development of vernacular education for which vernacular schools were established near Calcutta. The first vernacular newspaper[1] was published by the missionaries at Serampur. In 1816 the Hindu College was established.

A number of legal reforms were introduced. In civil cases the procedure was curtailed and simplified. In the administration of criminal justice, the separation of power between Collector and Magistrate was removed. The Indian Munsifs and Sadar Amins were vested with powers. The number of Zilla Judges was also increased. The procedure in appeal was fixed.

Measures were taken to protect the ryots from the encroachments of the zemindar. Canals irrigation and other public works were started. Hastings also took steps towards the abolition of Suttee.

Estimate of Hastings :—

Lord Hastings was one of the greatest of the Governor-Generals of the Company. He completed, in a most masterly fashion, the work begun by Lord Wellesley. Hastings was not only a great soldier and warrior but also a good and able administrator. He brought reforms in judicial, revenue and education departments which produced far-reaching effects. It was not a small achievement of Hastings that he dethroned the Peshwa, reduced Holkar, humbled Sindhia, and suppressed the Pindaries. P. E. Roberts rightly observes : "He was an able administrator, a hard and conscientious worker, a good judge of men and his name and fame deservedly rank only just below the greatest in the roll of Governor-General."

1, Semachar Chandrika,

British Relation with the Marathas till 1818 :—

Warren Hastings tried to avoid entanglements with the Marathas but at the same time took steps to check their possible raids in Bengal. It was mainly the fear of Maratha invasion that prompted him to strengthen the position of the Nawab of Oudh by selling to him Allahabad and Kara, and to make Oudh a strong buffer state between Bengal and Marathas. In the Deccan the Bombay government tried to play at king-making by supporting the cause of Raghoba against the legitimate Peshwa and thus brought on a Maratha war much against Hastings' will. But Hastings, by winning over Sindhia, brought the war to close by the Treaty of Salbai in 1782.

Lord Cornwallis kept on good terms with the Marathas and made alliance with them against Tipu. Next Governor-General, Sir John Shore, followed the policy of non-intervention and allowed the Marathas a free hand against the Nizam. The result was that the Nizam suffered defeat at Kharda in 1795. The power of the Marathas much increased. After the death of Nana Fadnavis, the able minister of the Peshwa, a civil war broke out among the Maratha-chiefs. This gave Lord Wellesley an opportunity to interfere in the Maratha affairs. Peshwa Baji Rao II, being defeated by Holkar, entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English by the treaty of Bassien. This enraged Sindhia and Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur who took arms against the English. They were, however, defeated and compelled to accept treaties of subsidiary alliances. Holkar also declared war and he also defeated. Thus, under Wellesley the power of the Marathas was shattered.

Next Governor-General Sir Barlow followed the policy of non-intervention. He withdrew British protection from the Rajputs and left them at the mercy of Sindhia and Holkar. Next Governor General Minto

maintained undisturbed peace with the Maratha. But it was Lord Hastings who completely overthew the Maratha power. During the Pindari war he isolated Sindhia, and compelled them to give assistance to the English against the Pindaris. Next when Baji Rao II, Holkar and Apa Sahib declared war against the English, he defeated them. The office of Peshwa was abolished and representative of the line of Shivaji was placed on the throne of Satara. Holkar and Raja of Nagpur were forced to acknowledge British overlordship. The chief causes of the fall of the Marathas were want of unity and jealousy among the Maratha chiefs, abandonment of their guerila warfare, their misgovernment and consquent unpopularity of their rule. In fact, their rule degenerated into a system of organised plunder.

But though Maratha power was wiped out in the 1st quarter of the 19th century, its decline is to be traced to the disastrous effects of the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) in which Maratha imperliaism got a a staggering blow in the hands of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

British Relations with the Burmese (1824—85) :—

For many years the English had carrying on a flourising commerce with Burma. But the growth of their Indian dominion, and at the same time the establishment of the sway of a Tibet-Chinese race over Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim, situated south of Chittgong, during the second half of the eighteenth century, brought the two powers into political relations in the nineteenth century.

Towards the middle of the eighteen century a new era began in the history of Burma. A new dynasty was established in Burma by a local chief named Alompra, His relations with the British were not

very happy. One of his successors, Bodawpaya (178-1819), conquered Arakan in 1784—85 and this marked a new era in the history of Anglo-Burmese relations.

The First Burmese War (1824—26). The first Burmese war took place during Lord Amherst's regime. British territories were bordered on the east by the kingdom of Burma. This close proximity was bound to bring conflicts. First of all, the king of Burma was annoyed that Arakanese fugitives should find a safe refuge in British territory. During the period 1786—1824, there were numerous occasions when the Burmese threatened to violate British territory in pursuit of the fugitives. The troubles on the Chittagong-Arakan frontier reached their climax in 1823, when some Burmese troops occupied the small island of Shahpuri which lay on the British side of the main channel of the Naf. Finally, the ruler of Burma ordered his General, Maha Bandula, to expel the British from Bengal and to bring the Governor-General back to the court bound in golden fetters. Thus Lord Amherst was forced to declare war in 1824.

There were four theatres of war—Assam, Arakan, the lower valley of the Irrawaddy, and Tenasserim. The English decided to attack by land and sea. At first they proceeded towards Assam and occupied Manipur. At the sametime, a fleet and an army were sent from Madras and advanced towards Rangoon and captured the same without any opposition. Hearing the tremendous progress of the British, the king of Burma sent a large army under the leadership of Maha Bandula and inflicted a crushing defeat on the British and proceeded towards Rangoon and re-occupied it. Then he advanced towards Donabew where he was defeated and killed by Sir Archibald Campbell. This was indeed a terrible loss to the Burmese. The British army advanced as far as Yandabo where in a skirmish the

British troops defeated the Burmese. After that a treaty of peace was concluded in 1826. The Burmese king renounced all claims upon the Ahom kingdom and agreed to cede the provinces of Arakan and Tenassarim and to refrain from any sort of interference in Assam, Cachar and Jaintia. He also promised to pay one crore of rupees as war indemnity and agreed to receive a British envoy in the Court. There is little room of doubt that the English obtained important advantages out of the First Anglo-Burmese war.

The Second Burmese War (1852). The second Burmese war broke out during the administration of Lord Dalhousie. The foremost cause of the Second Burmese War was Dalhousie's policy of territorial aggrandisement. He was a great annexationist. Moreover, the new king of Burma refused to accept the terms of the treaty of Yandabo. This treaty gave some concession to British subjects trading in Bengal. In 1851 some British merchants in Burma were maltreated by the Burmese officials. This gave Lord Dalhousie a plea of picking up a quarrel with Burma. Lord Dalhousie sent a haughty naval officer to demand redress from the Burmese Government. But these officials were insulted by the Governor of Rangoon. Thus the war began. The war war brief and decisive. In course of war the British occupied Rangoon, Bassein and Prome and the whole of Pegu after some military operations. The British army did not proceed upto the upper Burma as Lord Dalhousie was satisfied with the conquest of Lower Burma. Aa a result the British empire was extended up to the banks of the Salween. British control was established over the whole of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal and access to the sea was closed to the Burmese kingdom.

The Third Burmese War (1885). The third Burmese war took place during the time of Lord Dufferin,

In 1885, it was found that king Theebaw who disliked the presence of the English in Lower Burma, was intriguing with the French. The French, who were established in Indo-China, on the borders of northern Burma, enjoyed various trading facilities, while the British Burma Trading Company was hampered in every possible way. Its officials were arrested, and it was fined a huge sum of rupees. Lord Dufferin, finding remonstrances useless, invaded Burma, and Mandalay was occupied. After the end of the war king Theebaw and his family were sent to India. In 1897 Upper and Lower Burma were placed under a Lieutenant Governor, with his capital at Rangoon.

CHAPTER IX

LORD AMHERST AND LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

Lord Amherst (1823—1828):—

In 1823 Lord Hastings was succeeded after a short interval by Lord Amherst. During the interval period the reins of government were held rather uneasily by John Adam, the senior member of Council. Lord Amherst's administration is chiefly remembered for two events the first Burmese war and the capture of Bharatpur. We have already dealt with Burmese War.

Capture of Bharatpur :—

Lord Amherst was forced to interfere in the Jat State of Bharatpur where the child Raja was set up by the British Resident, Sir David Ochterlony, was displaced by his cousin, Durjan Sal. Ochterlony realised that, if such a proceeding were tolerated, similar attempts would be made in other states So he fourthwith made a strong military display, and threatened the usurper with immediate punishment if he would continue to violate the rights of the infant prince. But due to some misunderstanding with the Governor-General, Ochterlony resigned. This emboldened Durjan Sal and he openly flouted the British authorily. At last, Lord Amherst declared war. British forces were sent against the usurper and the fort Bharatpur was stormed by Lord Combermere in 1826. The usurper was made a state-prisoner in British territory, the rightful heir ascended the throne, and peace was restored.

Mutiny at Barrackpore. A sepoy regiment of Barrackpore was ordered to proceed to Burma. They dreaded the loss of caste by sea voyage and had besides a geniune grievance in the heavy transport expenses which under the rules then in force, they had to bear,

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Their humble prayer for the redress of their grievances was rejected and so they displayed an insubordinate spirit for which they were shot down.

Lord Bentinck (1828—35) :—

Lord Bentinck, who had been Governor of Madras twenty years earlier (at the time of mutiny of Vellore), came out as Governor-General in 1828. Former Governors-General had been great conquerors and administrators, though one of them at least (Lord Hastings) made important improvements in the condition of the people. But Lord Bentinck was the first to recognize and to make the keynote of his policy the grand principle that 'English greatness is founded on Indian happiness.' He was by nature a man of peace and liberal outlook. His administration was marked by many salutary reforms.

Financial Reforms. When Bentinck arrived, however, he found himsef handicapped by empty coffers. Immense sums had been expended on the Maratha and Burmese wars. He first carried out a financial reform by retrenchment of officials. He reduced expenditure by effecting economies in both the civil and military services. The *half-batta* or the field allowance enjoyed by the officers was withdrawn and the remuneration of the civil service cut down. He also enhanced revenue by the revision of land settlements in the north-western provinces and by the resumption of unauthorised revenue-free lands in the permanently settled provinces. He imposed taxes on the opium. He also made commercial treaty with the Amirs of Sind and with Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. He encouraged projects for steam navigation, and for opening up the Red Sea route in place of the long voyage round the Cape.

Administrative and Judicial Reforms. Bentinck also remedied the defects in the administrative reforms of Cornwallis. First of all it was during his

administration that the Indians became eligible to public offices and appointments, for he realised that it was unfair to the Indians that public offices should be exclusively reserved for the British. The Indians were for the first time given chance to be appointed as Deputy Magistrates and Subordinate Judges. He created a Board of Revenue at Allahabad and abolished provincial courts of appeal and circuit set up by Cornwallis, as the proceedings of those courts were very dilatory. The office of the District Magistrate was combined with that of the Collector. Divisional Commissioners were appointed to supervise the works of District Magistrates and Collectors.

He substituted the vernacular language for Persian which had hitherto been the court language. But this sudden change of the court language threw the Muslim officers out of office and consequently the lower Muslim middle class was ruined.

Social Reforms. But by far the most beneficial reforms he carried out in the social field. It is for his social reforms that he is best remembered. He abolished the practice of *Sutee* (the self-immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands). At the same time, steps were taken to put down the practice of female infanticide, and offering children to the Ganges at Saugar. He suppressed *Thuggee*, a system of highway robbery and murder carried on by powerful gangs. Disguised as merchants or pilgrims, they haunted the roads and rest-houses, where they ingratiated themselves with travellers. They then strangled, robbed and buried them. The Thugs formed a powerful confederacy spread over the whole of the north of India. The task of exterminating these ruffians was entrusted to Sir William Sleeman who organised an elaborate system to deal with this abuse and succeeded in crushing the gangs.

Education Reforms. Equal in importance to his administrative measures are Bentinck's educational reforms. He established the Calcutta Medical College and the Elphinstone Institution of Bombay. During Bentinck's time a controversy was raised regarding the medium of instruction for the people of this country and the nature of education to be imparted to them. On the one side were Horace Hayman Wilson and the orthodox Hindus and Muslims who wished to confine education, as before, to the study of Sanskrit and Arabic ; on the other hand were the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, David Hare and Ram Mohan Roy, who were in favour of Western education through the medium of English. Macaulay, who was then law Member, threw the weight of his great influence in favour of English which thenceforth became the medium of higher education in Indo-Pakistan. Thus the most momentous change introduced by Lord Bentinck and one that was destined to affect profoundly the whole future history of the country, was introdution of English as the medium of higher education in Indo-Pakistan.

Renewal of the Charter in 1833 :—

The question of the renewal of the Charter came up again in 1833, and was made the occasion of further important reforms. The last vestiges of the Company's monopoly disappeared, and it practically ceased to exist as a commercial body. Any Englishman could now come and settle in the country, and own property. The North-West Provinces were constituted. The head of the Indian Government was separated from Bengal and given the title of Governor-General of India, and the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were definitely placed under his control. The Government of India was given the power of passing Acts instead of Regulations, and a Law Member was added to the Governor-General's

Council. Finally, it laid down the famous principle that 'no native of India nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour'.

Annexation of Coorg and Mysore :—

Lord Bentinck mas a great advocate of the policy of non-intervention, but when circumstances compelled him to interfere, he did so with courage and firmness as was seen by the annexation of Coorg and Mysore. He compelled the Rajas of Mysore and Coorg to annex their states to the British dominion.

Estimate of Lord Bentinck :—

He was the first Governor-General who acted on the theory that the welfare of the subject people was the primary duty of the British in India. In the words of Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck ruled Indo-Pakistan "with prudence, integrity and benevolence···never forgot that the end of the government was the welfare of the governed...abolished cruel rites...affected humiliating distinctions...and allowed liberty to the expansion of public opinion." "In his philanthropic care of the people of India, economy in administration and earnest desire to preserve peace, he may be compared with that other essentially Liberal Governor-General among his successors, the Marquis of Ripon." "He infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom." He was a true liberal of his day.

Carrer of Raja Ram Mohan Roy :—

During his period, famous Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who was a pioneer in social reforms, founded the Brahmo Samaj (1828) which besides preaching the unity of God assailed many of the social abuses of the Hindu

society. He denounced the rigours of the cast-system and sought to uplift the position of women. He carried on a vigorous propaganda against the practice of *Sutee* or self-immolation of widows, and his powerful support was a great help to Bentinck who abolished this evil practice.

Ram Mohan Roy was also a pioneer of English education. He along with David Hare, a famous missionary, founded many schools to impart English education to the Indians and started the Hindu College—the parent of the Presidency College in Calcutta.

CHAPTER X

SIR CHARLES METCALFE

(1835—1836)

After Lord Bentinck's retirement, Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed acting Governor-General. He had been continuously in Indo-Pakistan since 1800 as a member of the Civil Service and had been Bentinck's right-hand man during most of his government. He was also the Lieutenant-Governor of the North Western Province. His term of office is famous for the abolition of all restrictions on the press, which made him unpopular to the British and at last he was compelled to resign.

Anglo-Afgan Relation in the 19th Century :—

The Afghan policy of the British Government was mainly influenced by an excessive fear of a Russian advance towards India. The British authorities in India were interested in Afghan affairs for two reasons. In the days of Zaman Shah they were apprehensive of the repetition of Ahmad Shah Abdali's exploits in India. Secondly, the dread of a Franco-Prussian invasion through Persia naturally compelled them to seek friendly relations with the ruler of Afghanistan. Moreover, Afghanistan was in a precarious position being disunited and threatened by Persia and her Russian allies on the one side, and the Sikhs on the other. The proper policy for the Indian Government would have been to use the Sikhs as a buffer state, supplying them freely with arms and munition and everything required for their defence. It was also not at all probable that the Russians in the days before railways, would attempt to sent their armies across the hundreds of miles of rugged mountains, populated by hostile tribes, which lay between their frontier and Peshawar. But the Russians

were all powerful in Persia. Thus this anti-Russian policy persuaded the British authority to keep in good humour the Sikhs and the Afghans.

The First Afghan War (1838—42) :—

In 1837, Russian acquired influence over Persia and a Persian army, trained and officered by the Russians, beseiged Herat. This alarmed Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, and he sent Captain Burnes to Kabul to counteract Russian schemes in Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Kabul, demanded that the English should exert diplomatic pressure on Ranjit Singh to restore Peshawar to him. Lord Auckland shrank from this step for fear of incurring hostility of Ranjit Singh. So Dost Muhammad turned to Russia. Thereupon Auckland determined to depose Dost Muhammad and to replace him by Shah Shuja, a grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani. To accomplish his objects, Auckland concluded a 'tripartite treaty' with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja.

Having determined on war Auckland pursued his aggressive policy regardless of the fact that the alleged necessity for it had disappeared ; for the Russians had recalled their agent from Kabul and the Persians had withdrawn the siege of Herat. British troops were sent through both the Bolan and the Khyber Passes and Shah Shuja was enthroned. Garrisons were stationed at Kandahar, Jalalabad and Kabul to preserve British influence. Dost Muhammad was captured and sent to Calcutta.

But the Afghans disliked Shah Shuja and detested the presence of the British army in their midst. Riots broke out everywhere. The British troops became demoralised as their General Burnes was put to death by the Afghans. Macnaghten, the Political Resident, was forced to conclude a humiliating treaty by which

it was agreed that the British should evacuate Afganistan and that Dost Muhammad should be set free and allowed to return to Kabul. But Macnaghten was soon killed. Inspite of this, another treaty was made with the Afghan chiefs and the British forces, surrendering their guns and stores, began the fatal retreat from Kabul. The retreat became a rout and a massacre through snow-storms and Afghan bullets. Only one man, Dr Brydon, could make his way to Jalalabad.

Thus the Afghan policy of Lord Auckland was politically disastrous and morally indefensible. The fear of the Russian agression was nothing more than a bugbear, for the British frontier was then separated from Russia's sphere of influence by a ring of powerful states such as the Punjab, Bhawalpur, Sind and the deserts of Rajputana. "The Afghan policy of Lord Auckland," writes P. E. Roberts, "has met with practically condemnation at the hands of historians, and every re-reading of the evidence deepens and strengthens the conviction that the war was politically one of the most disastrous, and, morally, one of the least justifiable ever waged by the British in India."

Lord Ellenborough's Afghan policy. The total extermination of the army led to the recall of Lord Auckland and to the appointment of Lord Ellenborough. The new Governor-General determined to regain their lost prestige and began to continue the war with Afghans. Kabul was recaptured, and the part of city was destroyed by way of reprisal. Then the British forces withdrew from the Afghan and Dost Muhammad was allowed to return to Kabul where he again became the Amir.

Lord Dalhousie's Afghan policy. In 1885, Lord Dalhousie made a treaty of friendship with Dost Muhammad. His object was to ensure the safety of the newly conquered province of the Punjab whose

western boundary marched along the territory of the Afghan chief. The treaty was renewed and strengthened in 1857. The cordial relations thus established freed the Afghan Amir from Persian danger, and his friendly neutrality during the crisis of the Mutiny saved the English from troubles.

But the British Government always was in apprehension that Afghanistan might come within the sphere of Russian influence. The Russian menace was no longer an idle dream. In 1865, Tashkhand was annexed by Russia. Samarkand fell in Russian hand in 1868.

Lord Lawrence's Afghan policy. Dost Muhammad died in 1868 and a struggle for succession ensued among his sons. Lord Lawrence rigidly abstained from interference in the domestic feuds of the Afghans. His policy was to recognise the *de facto* ruler coming out successful in the contest, and then to safeguard his independence against Russian menace. But this policy of "masterly inactivity" offended the Afghan chiefs who found that British recognition was not an asset to be depended upon, Eventually Sher Ali subdued all his rivals and became the Amir of Afghans. Lawrence not depending on the friendship of the Amir put suggestion to the British Cabinet to make agreement with Russian Government.

Lord Mayo's Afghan policy. Lord Mayo (1869-72) followed Lawrence's policy of "masterly inactivity." But an arrangement was arrived with Russia respecting the boundary of the Amir's territory. During the viceroyalty of the Lord Northbrook, the Central Asia problem became acute owing to the steady advance of Russia towards the northern frontier of Afghanistan. Sher Ali became uneasy and the capture of Khiva by the Russians in 1873 caused him great alarm. He sent an envoy to Simla and pleaded for a defence alliance with the British. But the British Cabinet

refused to depart from the policy of non-intervention. Sher Ali was disappointed and annoyed, and showed an inclination to make terms with Russia.

The Second Afghan War :—

At this juncture a Conservative Ministry under Disraeli came to power. If the Liberal Cabinet had pursued a policy of "masterly inactivity" in Afghan affairs, the Conservative Cabinet swung to the other extreme and precipitated a crisis by its energetic interference. The Viceroy Lord Lytton in (1876—80) was instructed by the Cabinet to adopt a "forward policy" to counteract Russian aggressive policy. Accordingly Lytton took an aggressive policy which precipitated the crises. In 1876 the British occupied Quetta, giving them full control over the famous Bolan Pass, and dominating the road to Kandahar. The Amir regarded the occupation of Quetta as a direct attempt on the part of the British to bring him under their control. Accordingly he turned towards the Russia, received a Russian envoy, but absolutely refused to extend the same courtesy to the British with the result that Lord Lytton declared war.

Three expeditions marched upon Kabul through three Passes of Afghanistan. Sher Ali fled to Russia. His son, Yaqub Khan, signed the Treaty of Gandamuk, by which he agreed to receive a permanent British Resident at his court. But the freedom loving Afghans soon killed the Resident, so the war renewed. The British forces that were still in Afghanistan, under the able command of Generals Stewarts and Roberts, immediately concentrated on Kabul which they re-occupied. Yaqub Khan surrendered, was deposed, and became a prisoner. But further complications arose. Yaqub Khan's brother, Ayub Khan, rose in arms against the British, defeated General Burrows at Maiwand, and

pursued the brigade, which had lost half its personnel to Kandahar which he besieged. Then General Roberts made his celebrated forced march from Kabul to Kandahar and relieved the besieged city.

Lord Ripon and his Successors's Afghan Policy—The Durand Mission. Lytton's successor, Lord Ripon (1880--84) reversed the policy and made friendship with Afghans by recognising Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, as their Amir. The personal relations between the next Viceroy Lord Lansdowne and Amir Abdur Rahman were not good ; during Lansdowne's administration a railway was completed up to the Bolan Pass ; English officers were sent to Gilgit. The Amir became uneasy and there appeared a risk of a rupture. But good sense prevailed on either side and a commission was appointed under Sir Mortimer Durand to delimit the frontier between Afghanistan and British territory. The line of demarcation fixed in 1893 by the commission came to be known as *Durand Line.* According to the decision, certain districts were ceded to the Amir who in return promised not to interfere with the tribes upon the British side of the line and also renounced his right to interfere in Swat, Bajur, and Chitral. Cordial relations between the two governments thus established continued till the *Third Afghan War* in 1919, in which the Afghans were defeated and Amir Amanulla sued for peace.

CHAPTER XI

LORD AUCKLAND, LORD ELLENBOROUGH AND LORD HARDING

Lord Auckland (1836—42) :—

Charles Metcalfe was succeeded by Lord Auckland in 1836. The early part of his reign was marked by a few useful reforms. He developed Bentinck's plans for the promotion of education and the cultivation of medical science. He abolished the pilgrim's tax and also undertook irrigation works.

The relation of Lord Auckland with the native states was not cordial. He suppressed the attempted rebellion by the Padshah Begum of Oudh and deposed the Raja of Satara and annexed Karnul in Madras. But the most important event of his reign was the First Anglo-Afghan War (which we have already discussed).

Lord Ellenborough (1842—44) :—

Lord Ellenborough succeeded Auckland in the midst of the first Anglo-Afghan War. He successfully carried out the war and saved situation. "He was a ready and eloquent speaker of a somewhat florid type, self-confident, impulsive, and rather headstrong." He was not only a great conqueror and annexionist but also a great reformer. In 1843 he finally abolished the slavery system and created the post of Deputy Magistrate. He also improved the pay and prospects of Police Darogas.

Annexation of Sind 1843 :—

Since the end of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century Sind was ruled by the Talpur Amirs of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur,

It owed only a nominal allegiance to Afghanistan. The Amirs of Talpur governed the country well. The English had for many years looked with longing eyes on the Indus river for their commercial interest. In 1809 the Amirs concluded a treaty with the British promising not to allow the establishment of the French in Sind. This treaty was renewed in 1820.

Sind remained unexplored till the journey of Alexander Burns in 1831 up the river Indus in route to Lahore, disclosed the political and commercial importance of the Lower Indus Valley to the British government. "Alas', said a shrewd Sindhi, "Sind is now gone since the English have seen the river."

Ranjit Singh had his eyes on the Sind. In 1831, he proposed to Lord Bentinck the partition of Sind between himself and the Company. But the British were not prepared for that. Instead in 1832 Lord William Bentinck concluded a treaty with the Amir, which opened up the Indus to commercial navigation by British subjects. In 1838 Lord Auckland concluded a treaty with the Amirs, who agreed to receive a British resident at Hyderabad. In 1839 the Amirs were compelled to accept a treaty by which they were virtually placed under British protection.

Causes of the War with Sind 1843. The conflict between the Amirs of Sind and the British was the outcome of the First Anglo-Afghan war 1832. Although the treaty of 1832 prohibited the use of the Indus for the conveyance of military force, the British army marched through Sind on its way to Afghanistan in 1839-40. As a result, the Amirs of Sind became hostile to them. Moreover, after the end of the Afghan war the British availed themselves of the displeasure of the Amirs of Sind to accuse them of hostility to the English. Sir Ellenborough sent Sir Charles Napier, a blunt soldier to deal with them. Napier 'conducted

his operations on the theory that the annexation of Sind would be a beneficent piece of rascality for which it was his business to find an excuse. His violent and oppressive actions made them displeased which resulted in the outbreak of the war. At last Napier proceeded with a large army towards Sind and defeated the forces of Amirs at the battles of *Miani and Dabo.* Napier forcibly exacted huge amount of money from the Amirs and took the charge of Sind administration. The annexation of Sind was not morally and politically justified. All British writers on Indian History are agreed that there was no moral justification or immediate political necessity behind the highhanded policy which vanquished the Amirs. Napier himself observed, "we have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so." There is no denying the fact that they did it to mitigate their imperialistic tendency.

Battle of Gawalior. Another important event was the *Battle of Gawalior.* Taking the opportunity of the internal chaos and confusion of Gawalior, Ellenborough attacked the Sindhia and defeated and crushed them in the battle of Gawalior and established the British supremacy over Gawalior.

Relation between the English and the Sikhs :—

Sikhs originally a religious sect had gradually emerged as a military power. After the withdrawal of Ahmad Shah Durrani from Indo-Pakistan in 1767, they occupied the area between Rawalpindi and the Jumna. Thus the Sikhs obtained their independence and formed themselves into twelve confederacies. In the beginning of the 19th century, Ranjit Singh appeared on the scene and united Sikhs into a great nation. Under Ranjit Singh, they conquered Amritsar in 1802. Soon he became the master of the Punjab and Kashmir. He was eager to extend his kingdom

further but Lord Minto (1807—13) checked his attempt to extend his influence beyond the Sutlej. Thus during Minto's administration the English government for the first time came in contact with the Sikhs. By the Treaty of Amritsar (1809) the Sutlej was fixed as the boundary of Ranjit Singh's authority. Thus Ranjit Singh had maintained friendly relations with the British and had even co-operated with them in the First Afghan war. He died in 1839.

The First Anglo-Sikh War (1845—46). After Ranjit's death the army became all powerful. To divert the attention of the turbulent army they were incited by the Sikh chiefs to attack the British territory. Thereupon Lord Hardinge declared war in 1845. The first battle was fought at *Mudki* where the Sikhs were defeated. Next battle at *Firozshah* also the Sikhs were defeated and compelled to retire. The Sikhs were again defeated at *Aliwal* and were compelled to retire across the Sutlej. The final battle was fought at *Sobraon* where the Sikhs were finally beaten. The British then occupied Lahore and by the Treaty of Lahore the Sikhs ceded all lands on the British side of the Sutlej as well as the Jullundar Doab. Thus ended the First Sikh War. As the result of this First Sikh War and the consequent treaty (1846), the British Government secured full control over Lahore. This proved to be the prelude to the annexation of the Punjab. The treaty also placed the administration of the Punjab under a Council of Regency consisting of eight Sikh sarders under the control of a British Resident. It was then that the English sold Kashmir to Golab Singh Dogra for only one million sterling.

The Second Sikh War (1848—49): Lord Hardinge's arrangement or the government of the Punjab did not work well. The Sikh chiefs resented the control exercised by the British Resident. They were eager

for another trial of strength. The occasion for a rupture came soon enough. Mulraj, the Sikh Governor of Multan, soon tendered his resignation. It was accepted and the British Resident sent two young English officers with a small escort to install a new Sikh Governor at Multan. The officers were murdered and Mulraj went into open rebellion. So Lord Dalhousie declared war. The Afghans joined the Sikhs in the hope of recovering Peshawar.

The British sent a large army against the Sikhs who were defeated, and occupied Multan. They next met the Sikh army at *Chilianwala* in 1849. The battle of Chilianwala was a long-drawn battle in which inspite of initial success the Sikhs were ultimately defeated. The decisive battle of the war was fought at *Gujarat* where the Sikhs were signally defeated; they fled in disorder and was pursued as far as Afghan frontier. *As a result the Punjab was annexed* (1849). The annexation of the Punjab pushed the frontiers of the British Empire to the mountains of Afghanistan. Hencefo rward, the Sikh became a close ally of the British; they fought in the Second Burmese War and remained loyal during the Mutiny.

Lord Hardinge (1844—46) :—

Lord Ellenborough was succeeded by Lord Hardinge, a distinguished military officier who had fought under Wellington in the peninsular War. His pre-occupation was the first Sikh War. (*discussed earlier*).

Internal Reforms. Hardinge was not only a great warrior and conqueror but also a reformer. He introduced many reforms of great importance. He completed the reform works begun by William Bentinck. He made a proper step for the suppression of suttee. He also stopped the practice of human sacrifice. He made greatar attention to the construction of railways and began

the work of construction of Ganges canal for the purpose of irrigation. He also followed the policy of Bentinck in respect of financial affairs. He reduced the British soldiers to a considerable extent. He also paid more attention to the improvement of education by constructing schools, colleges and libraries. Moreover, he made an arrangement for the Indians in the allottment of posts in Government service. But his most important reform was the declaration of Sunday as holiday.

CHAPTER XII

LORD DALHOUSIE (1848—1856)

Lord Hardinge was succeeded by a young and able Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, who was then only thirty six. He was a man of autocratic temper, but was a very industrious administrator, and on the whole, he was a ruler of benevolent intentions. As an imperial administrator he has never been surpassed and seldom equalled by any men whom England has sent forth to govern Indo-Pakistan. He was an imperialist to his core. Dr. Mujamdar rightly remarks, "The Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie was marked by a stupendous growth of the British Empire at the expense of many Indian states."

The other important political events of Lord Dalhousie's reign are Second Anglo-Sikh War, annexation of the Punjab and the Second Burmese War. These have already been discussed above.

His Annexation policy :—

Lord Dalhousie is remembered to this day mainly as an annexationist. The policy of annexation, formulated by the Court of Directors in 1834, was applied vigorously in the time of Lord Dalhousie. He had no scruples about annexation and he made annexations right and left. *His annexation policy* rested on a threefold basis,—*right of conquest, Doctrine of Lapse, and the desire to extend the benefits of British rule* to the misgoverned Indian provinces. He annexed the Punjab in 1849 and the province of Pegu in 1852 on the basis of the right of conquest.

Doctrine of Laps. By far the greater number of annexations were effected by him through the application of the Doctrine of Lapse. The doctrine meant that the dependent States should pass back or 'lapse' to the

paramount British power in case of the failure of natural heirs of the royal line. In others words, Dalhousie refused to recognise the right of adoption in the case of dependent States and held that the failure of natural heirs of the royal line in such States was a legitimate cause for annexing them. The States annexed by the application of this doctrine were *Satara*, *Jhansi*, *Tanjore*. *Carnatic*, *Nagpur*, *Jaitpur* in Bundelkhand and *Sambalpur* in Orissa. The principality of Satara was the first victim of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. The Raja of Satara died without any male issue in 1848. The Bhonsle States of Nagpur suffered a similar fate in 1853. The Raja died without leaving any male heir. The ruler of Jhansi died childless in 1853. The annexation of Baghat and Udaipur under similar circumstances was reserved for Lord Canning. Sambalpur in Orissa was annexed in 1850.

The Docrtine of Lapse was an assertion of the political suzerainty of the British East India Company. This Doctrine was first enunciated by the Company's Directors as far back as 1834 and subsequently was acted upon on more than one occasion. But this policy suited Dalhousie's imperialistic temper and he applied it ruthlessly whenever an oppartunity arose. A. D. Innes observes, "Dalhousie's predecessors had acted on the general principle of avoiding annexation if it could be avoided ; Dalhousie acted on the general principle of annexing if he could do so legitimately." In applying this doctrine he was guided by two main objects, namely, the walfare of the people concerned and imperialistic considerations. But it gave a rude shock to the local princes and chiefs and created a good deal of uneasiness in their minds. No Indian ruler felt secure, and the atmosphare of unrest and suspicion created by this policy was one great cause for the Sepoy Mutiny.

Annexation of Qudh :—

Lord Dalhousie annexed Oudh (1856) on the ground that its ruler had continuously misgoverned the State. The Nawab of Oudh, Wajed Ali, was sent to Calcutta on a pension. Dalhousie wanted to solve the Oudh problem by leaving to the Nawab his 'nominal sovereignty'. But he was overruled by the Directors who decided on its annexation due to its chronic misgovernment and corruption. There is no denying the fact that under the rule of successive Nawabs the administration of that province degenerated into an "orgy of massacre and corruption set to music." Successive Residents like Colonel Sleeman and Colonel Outram reported that the condition of Oudh was deplorable and could hardly be worse. But it should be noted that the maladministration of Oudh was as much due to the inevitable result of the operation of the Subsidiary system of Lord Wellesley. Sir Thomas Munro observed, "wherever the Subsidiary system is introduced, the country will soon bear the mark of it, in decaying villages and decreasing population." The Nawab was saddled with responsibility but no power and this resulted in constant British interference in the affairs of Oudh. For the Nawab could not take any important decision without the concurrence of the British Resident. Hence the responsibility for misgovernment rested largely with the British. Moreover, the annexation was a "gross violation of national faith" as it involved the repudiation of treaty obligation. By the treaty of 1801, Oudh had been made a protected State. But now treaty was brushed aside by Dalhonsie without any qualms of ccnscience. Apart from moral and other considerations the annexation was an unwise and impolitic step. As Colonel Sleeman said ; "It would cost the British power more than the value of ten such kingdoms, and would invitably lead to a

mutiny of the Sepoys." His prophecy came true in 1857.

Besides, Dalhousie also annexed Berar from the Nizam, and a portion of Sikkim.

His Administrative Reforms :—

"As an imperial administrator" Richard Temple observes, "he (Dalhousie) has never been surpassed and seldom equalled any of the illustrious men whom England has sent forth to govern India". Every department of the administration felt the touch of his reforming hands. He reorganised the system of administration by beginning the practice of distributing administrative works among different departments, and got rid of many antiquated survivals of old mercantile days of the Company.

Dalhousie also undertook a number of public utility works which were the first steps towards the modernisation of Indo-Pakistan. In 1853, he opened the first railway line from Bombay to Poona. The railways have greatly increased the prosperity of the country. They join up the various parts of India and are one of the chief means of fighting famine. He set up the first electric telegraph wire in this subcontinent. He introduced a uniform half-anna postage for the whole country. Formerly letters were charged according to the distance covered. These improvements in the means of communication helped the consolidation of the British rule. He created the Public Works Department and undertook several works of great magnitude such as the Grand Trunk Road, the Ganges Canal and the Bari Doab Canal. He opened a college at Roorkee where engineers might be trained for their duties.

Lord Dalhousie fully realised that without education India could never be great or prosperous. He got Sir Charles Wood in England to draw up a scheme for him

which provided that there should be vernacular schools in all districts. He was very anxious to encourage the vernacular languages, because he realized that only in this way can education reach the masses. In this respect, Dalhousie went farther than Lord Bentinck. He established a Department of Public Institutions under Directors whose duty it was to organise the work.

Of the *social reforms* of Dalhousie the most important was the Widow Remarriage Act which legalised the marriage of Hindu widows, and the removal of disabilities caused by the change of religion. Under the Hindu Law a convert to Christianity forfeited his inheritance. This penalty was removed by law.

Estimate of Lord Dalhousie :—

Lord Dalhousie was a masterful man of abundant energy, and the amount of work done by him personally in initiating policy and supervising administration excites our wonder. He also consolidated the empire, brought an well-organised administration and did many works of public utility.

Dalhousie extended the boundaries of the British Empire in Indo-Pakistan to the furthest limit. He also consolidated the Empire by an efficient system of administration and reforms. It has been aptly said of the British rulers of India that "some were conquerors, some were builders while others were reformers, but lord Dalhousie was all in one." This remark puts in a nutshell the illustrious role played by Dalhousie in extending as well consolidating the British Empire in Indo-Pakistan.

But he had two defects. His autocratic temperament made it difficult for him to tolerate criticism and to work smoothly with others. Secondly, he never took under consideration the sentiments of others. Whatever may be said in favcur of Dalhousie, his works were responsible for the coming mutiny or the first War of Independence of 1857.

CHAPTER XIII

LORD CANNING
(1856–1862)

Lord Canning succeeded Lord Dalhousie as Governor-General in February, 1856. He was a capable and industrious man, but lacked the genius and far-seeing statesmanship of his great predecessor. Soon he was called upon to face the most terrible crisis in the history of British India.

The War of Independence or Mutinty (1857–58) :–

The revolt of troops was not a rare occurrence in the history of the British in India. Mention may be made, in this connection, of the Vellore rising of 1806 in the Carnatic ; the Bareilly rising of 1816 ; the rising of the Sepoys at Barrackpore in 1824. Besides, there were the Muslim movements like the *Farazee*, disturbances at Barasat (Bengal) in 1831 under the leadership of Titumir, in 1847 at Faridpur under the guidance of Dudu Mia ; the Moplah outbreaks in 1849, 1851, 1852, and 1855 ; and the Santal rising in 1855–57. "These risings testify," Dr. Mujamdar writes, "to the general ferment in the British Empire in India, the last and the most severe being the Revolt of 1857–58, which shook its mighty fabric to its very foundation.

Causes of the Revolt. The causes of the movement may be conveniently summed up under four heads—political, social, religious and military.

Of the political causes the most important was the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie. His annexations and escheats by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse alarmed the Indian ruling classes. The withdrawal of the pension of Nana Sahib offended his countrymen and made him one of the leaders of the rebellion.

The annexation of Oudh and the virtual imprisonment of the Mughal Emperor gave a rude shock to many. The landlords were aggrieved by Bentinck's resumption of rent-free tenures.

As regards social causes it should be noted that the introduction of western innovations had outraged the sentiment of the conservative people of this country. The spread of English education, the construction of Railways and Telegraph lines, legislations for the suppression of *sutee* and for the re-marriage of Hindu widows and the missionary activity fostered by officials —all these engendered a belief that the British were determined to convert the people of this country to Christianity. The cry was raised that religion was in danger.

As to military causes there were many unsatisfactory features in the Indian army system. The discipline in the army had become too relax. The posting of sepoys in strange distant lands made them discontent and they demanded extra allowances and when these were refused they became sullen. The Bengal army disliked menial services and dreaded sea voyage. Their discontent was greatly intensified when Lord Canning passed the *General Services Enlistment Act* which imposed on the sepoys the obligation to serve wherever required. The disparity in number between European and local troops as well as England's pre-occupation in the Crimean War filled the sepoys with confidence of victory.

What fanned the smouldering discontent into a devouring flame was the sad blunder of the greased cartridges which had to be used with the newly introduced Enfield rifles. A rumour spread that the cartridges were greased with the fat of cows and pigs with deliberate objects of defiling the Hindus and Mussalmans alike. So *Mutiny began.*

Progress and suppression of the Revolt. A general alarm spread throughout the army and the sepoys at Barrackpore first broke into mutiny. They were followed by the sepoys of Barhampur. These outbreaks were quickly put down and the Indian regiments were disbanded. But the disaffection spread to the north and rebellion broke out at Amballa. But the decisive outbreak occurred at Meerut where three regiments broke into open mutiny, shot down their officers, broke open the prisons, released their comrades who were imprisoned for refusing to use greased cartridges and marched off to Delhi. They were joined by the Delhi sepoys, made themselves masters of the city and the palace, massacred the Europeans and proclaimed the restoration of the aged titular Emperor Bahadur Shah on the throne. The capture of Delhi by the mutineers was the signal for a general rising in Northern India and the mutiny spread to Lucknow, Bareilly, Cawnpore, Agra, Jhansi, Central India, Bundelkhand and other places. Everywhere the mutineers killed the Europeans, broke open the jails and then marched towards Delhi. But in Oudh the mutiny developed into a serious rebellion of the people whereas in other places it was a rising of the sepoys only. Delhi was kept sieged for four months. Then it was recovered mainly due to the efforts of John Lawrence who reinforced the Sikhs and the British army from the Punjab to Delhi. The aged Emperor was taken prisoner and transported to Rangoon while his two sons were shot dead. Thus ended the last of the Mughals. In Oudh the mutineers were converging round Lucknow and Cawnpore; Lucknow stood a five months sieze before it was relieved. The recapture of Delhi and Lucknow broke the backbone of the Mutiny.

At Cawnpore the operations of the mutineers were directed by Nana Sahib. The British garrison, after a

gallant resistance, was compelled to surrender. Nana Sahib pretending friendship to the British promised to convey the garrison safely to Allahabad. As the English were being conducted to the boats, fire was opened upon them by the order of Nana Sahib and all were, except four who made their escape, shot down. The women and children were kept confined for a yet more dreadful fate. When Nana Sahib heard that a relieving British force was advancing upon Cawnpore, he ordered the European women and children, about two hundred in number, to be slaughtered and thrown into a well.

At *Bareilly*, the capital of Rohilkhand, the sepoys proclaimed a Rohilla chief as governor who retained power for about a year. In Central India and Bundelkhand the leader of the rebels were the *Rani of Jhansi* and *Tantia Topi.* Ultimately all the rebels were crushed.

Causes of the failure of the Revolt :—

(a) The main cause of the failure of the revolt was the absence of unity of purpose among the rebels. The mutinous sepoys of the Bengal army tried to revive the vanished glories of the Mughal Empire, while Nana Sahib sought to re-establish the power of the Peshwa in his own person. The Rani of Jhansi fought for her own land. Dr. Smith observes that "the jealousy between the Hindus and Muhammadans, the political rivalry between Peshwa and Padshah, and innumerable animosities of various kinds so divided the rebels everywhere that they never were able to combine effectually for the execuation of a well-considered plan." (b) The Mutiny was not general, it was confined to some areas. Southern India remained aloof; the Sikhs helped the British. (c) No leader of ability arose; with the exception of the Begum of Oudh, the Rani

of Jhansi and some minor chiefs, none of the local princes and powers joined the rebels. (d) Want of capable leadership resulted in the lack of proper organisation of the revolt.

Effects of the Revolt :—

The most important result of the Mutiny of 1857 was the abolition of the ruler of East India Company. The shock of this terrible crisis created a strong feeling in England against the Company's rule, and Parliament determined to transfer the Government of India directly to the Crown. Accordingly, in 1858, an Act was passed known as *"An Act for Better Government of India."* It abolished the Board of Control and the Court of Directors and substituted for them a Secretary of State for India with a Council of fifteen members to assist him. The Governor-General received the additional title of 'Viceroy'. Lord Canning was made the first Viceroy.

The transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown was announced by the famous Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858. By this Declaration the princes were assured of their rights and honour, the people were assured of religious toleration and their eligibility for public offices irrespective of their caste and creed.

The *second* result was that the British Government had to revise its old policy of annexation. The 'Doctrine of Lapse' was abandoned and the Queen's Proclamation declared, "we desire no extension of our present territorial possessions."

Thirdly, the policy of centralisation adopted in the Charter Act of 1833 was reversed and the new principles of decentralisation and "Indianisation" were recognised. Thus the Indian Council Act of 1861 restored legislative function to the provinces.

Fourthly, the Mutiny made the Government suspicious and reactionary. The number of the English soldiers was increased; the army was re-organised. Bengal being the hotbed of rebellions was spotted as non-martial race. The Mutiny caused the British 'to regard Indian aspirations with an eye that was more watchful and less benevolent than had previously been the case." Formerly the Government took the initiative in introducing benevolent social reforms. The *Sutee* was abolished and English education introduced despite the opposition of the people. But now the Government became cautious and the demand for progress has now to come from the people.

Fifthly, the crush of Mutiny was followed by the proclamation of Martial law during which ruthless atrocities were carried on by the government.

Sir Lepel Graffin interpreted the Mutiny as 'a fortunate occurrence.' He said that 'Perhaps a more fortunate occurrence than the Mutiny of 1857 never occurred in India.' Because, he added, that it "swept the Indian sky clear of many clouds. It disbanded a lazy, pampered army, which, though in its hundred years of life had done splendid service, had became impossible; it replaced an unprogressive, selfish and commercial system of administration by one liberal and enlightened......"

Was it a Mutiny or War of Independence ? :—

Was it really a Mutiny? The great rebellion of 1857 is usually known to history as the "Indian Mutiny." But there has been a good deal of controversy over the real character of this crisis. British writers have spoken of it as a "Mutiny" while some Indians have described this great rising as the "Indian War of Independence." The truth seems to lie midway in between these two extreme views. "The rebellion which broke out in 1857,

was neither a Mutiny nor a war of independence."—said Hutchinson. It was the sepoys of the Bengal Army who began the revolt and the sepoys did most to sustain it. So far it was a mutiny. But it was more than a mutiny inasmuch as it was backed by dispossessed *zemindars* and *talukdars*, prince and nawabs deprived of their estates, titles and pensions, and their disbanded soldiers and discharged officers. In this sense, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has spoken of this rising as a *feudal revolt*. In short, besides the grievances of the army, lay more deep-rooted and impalpable causes of discontent among many classes of people who wanted to overthrow the British rule. The conservative section of the people was seriously alarmed at the progressive trend of British rule which seemed to threaten the orthodox social order. Thus there was a widespread feeling of discontent even among those who were not sepoys and the story of the greased cartridges fell as a spark on dry timber.

"But if the outbreak was more than a mutiny, it was not a national rebellion against foreign rule." None of the rulers of the leading States joined in the revolt. The Sikhs, who had been subdued very recently, made no attempt to recover their independence. They rather marched out to join the British force at Delhi. All the Indian sepoys did not rise against the British Government. Many fought side by side with the British force. Southern India, on the whole, remained quiet. It was only in Oudh and Rohilkhand that the revolt took the character of a national rising. So in its origin the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was essentially a rising caused by the Indian army. "But it occurred at time when for various reasons, there was much social and political discontent, and the mutineers were promptly joined by interested adventurers, who tried to give it a particular direction to suit their own schemes."

Queen Victoria's Proclamation :—

In consequence of the state of things brought to light by the revolt of 1857, Parliament decided to abolish the powers of the Company and transfer the Government of India directly to the Crown. At Allahabad, on the 1st November 1858, Lord Canning published the Queen's Proclamation, appointing him first Viceroy and announcing the principles on which the Indian Empire would be governed. In the Proclamation, assurance was given to the Princes that the rights and honour would be respected and that the existing treaties would be maintained. The people were assured of religious toleration and declared eligible for public offices, irrespective of their caste or creed provided they were fit for them. A general amnesty was granted to all mutineers except those who had taken part in the murder of British subjects. The Proclamation ended with a promise of measures for the material and moral improvement of the people.

CHAPTER XIV

INDO-PAKISTAN UNDER THE CROWN—FROM LORD CANNING TO LORD RIPON
(1858—1884)

Lord Canning (1858-62) :—

Immediately after the Queen's Proclamation, Lord Canning became the first Viceroy under the Crown. He began the work of pacification and reorganisation of the country. It was a difficult task. In some places the soldiers were still in arms. Large tracts of country had been devastated, whole villages destroyed, and land had gone out of cultivation. A severe famine broke out in 1861 in the desolated portions of the Agra province. But Canning tackled the situation very diplomatically. His policy was wise and expedient. "In completing the work of pacification he reaped the reward of his firm stand for mercy and moderation during the war of Independence." (P. E. Roberts).

Reforms. The Revolt of 1857 necessiated the introduction of some constitutional changes. The first of these changes was the transfer of government from the Company to the Crown.

Lord Canning realized the necessity of allowing Indians to have a share in the government of the country. So accordingly by the legislative Councils Act of 1861 the central legislature was enlarged by the addition of a number of non-official members. Provincial legislative councils were established under the supreme authority of the Governor-General.

Another important constitutional change was the abolition of the supreme courts and Sadar Adalats or the old company's courts and the establishment of High Courts, one in each province. One third of the Judges of the High Court were to be appointed from

the members of Indian civil service, another one third from barristers of England and the rest were to be recruited from the pleaders of the High Courts.

The work of drawing up a Civil and Criminal Code of Law, begun by Macaulay, was completed by Lord Canning in 1861. High Courts replaced the Supreme Court and the old Company's Courts.

He also reorganised the Indian army. The proportion of the European soldiers was increased, and the artillery was placed in the hands of British troops. The Sikhs and Gurkhas were enlisted and many new regiments were formed. Hitherto, the Company's regiments and the Queen's regiments had been divided. But Canning now amalgamated them.

Lord Canning also improved the financial administra tion of India. He called two experts from England. With their aid the whole financial system was overhauled and new taxes were introduced. It was Lord Canning who introduced the currency notes. Military expenditure was greatly curbed. Canning encouraged the English planters to take up lands in Assam and Nilgiri Hills on favourable terms which greatly increased the trade and brought money into the country.

Lord Canning attached great importance to education for the development of the country. So he established three great universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. By 1858 there were 13 colleges with 40,000 pupils.

Apart from these, he also took vigorous steps for the abolition of the doctrine of lapes and other malpractices.

Lord Elgin (1862-63) :—

Lord Canning was succeeeded by Lord Elgin in 1862. He had a wide experience of colonial administration. The only noteworthy event of his administration was a punitive expedition against the Wahabis, a

sect of the Muslims in the North West Frontier. Sitana was the centre of these fanatics who instigated the tribes to rise against the British only to oust them from India. So he without any delay, made punitive expedition against them. The tribemen were ultimately defeated and crushed in the Ambala pass and the Wahabis were ousted from their centre.

Sir John Lawrence (1864-69) :—

Lord Elgin was succeeded by Sir John Lawrence in 1864. Since his retirement from the Punjab in February 1859, Sir John Lawrence had served as member of the Secretary of State's Council in the India office, bearing modestly the honours and compliments lavished upon him as the 'saviour of India.' "He was a strong, determined, and sagacious man, with a certain noble ruggedness and simplicity of soul, though his character, as Lord Dalhousie noticed, was not without the spur of an honourable ambition."

The most important events of his administration were the Bhutan expedition, his frontier policy and internal reorganisation of the country.

War with Bhutan. The Bhutanese were a hilly-tribe, living in the mountains that form the northern frontier of Bengal. British relations with the Bhutanese dated back to 1772. But in 1863-64 the Bhutanese made raids into the British territory and even maltreated their envoy who was sent there. As a result war broke out. The British sent large army against them and after some military operations the Bhutanese were completely vanquised and ultimately made their submission. As a result the Eastern Duars was annexed by the British.

His Afghan Policy. His Afghan policy was neutral and of peaceful nature. Soon after the death of Dost Muhammad in 1863, a strugle ensued among his sons

for succession. Lawrence rigidly abstained from interference in the domestic feuds of several claimants. His policy was to recognise the de facto ruler coming out successful in the contest. This policy of cold-blooded aloofness has been described as one of "masterly inactivity" and was on the whole wise.

Internal Reforms. The internal administration of Lawrence was on the whole successful. There was a terrible famine in Orissa in 1866, which worsened the econmic situation of the country. He imposed income tax on Indians and Europeans for the improvement of the revenue strength. He spent large sums of money on public works such as construction of public buildings, schools, railway, canals and improved the irrigation system.

Sir John Lawrence passed valuable measures protecting the rights of the peasants to their landlords. By the Punjab and the Oudh Tenancy Acts of 1868, he extended to the cultivators of Oudh and the Punjab the protection which Canning had given to the ryots of Bengal.

Lord Mayo (1869-72) :—

Lord Mayo succeeded Sir John Lawrence in 1869. He was a brilliant man, of wide sympathies and great charm of manner.

Lord Mayo effected many important reforms. He was called upon to undertake financial reforms. The deficit left by Sir Lawrence had to be met and he set himself resolutely to bring about an equilibrium in the finances. He decided to increase the salt duties in the provinces and raised the income tax. He also enforced strict economy in the expenditure. His most important financial reform was the insititution of the system of *provincial contracts* by which each province was made responsible for its own finance within certain

defined limits. A fixed yearly grant was made to each of the provincial governments and the latter within certain defined limits were given a free hand in allocating and spending their respective quotas. As a result of these reforms, the deficit of Lawrence's rule was converted into a surplus. One of Lord Mayo's financial ministers thus sums up his work : "he found serious deficit and left substantial surplus. He found estimates habitually untrustworthy, he left them thoroughly worthy of confidence. He found accounts in arrears and statistics incomplete, he left them puntual aud full."

It was during his rule that first the *general census* of Indo-Pakistan was taken. He organised a statistical survey of the country and created a department of agriculture and commerce.

He fully realised the importance of education. He founded a chief's college at Ajmeer only to train the princes for their important duties. Others were established at Lahore, Rajkot and other places. He encouraged the efforts of the great Muslim educationist, Sir Syed Ahmed.

His Foreign Policy. His foreign policy was based on the peaceful principles. He refused interfere in the internal disturbance of the other states. Accordingly he made friendship with the Amirs of Afghanistan. Thus he effectively checked the Russian inffuence in Afghanistan. He was equally successful in making friendships with other Indian princes. In 1872, his administration was brought to an end. He was murdered by an Afghan when he was visiting the Andamans.

Lord Northbrook (1872-76) :—

After the death of Lord Mayo, Lord NorthBrook came to India as Viceroy, and stayed in India till 1876. His administration marked the decline of the friendly ralation with Afghanistan whose ruler tried to make

an alliance with Russia. Another sad incident was the deposition of the Gaikwar. The Gaikwar of Barado was dethroned for misconduct and mal-administration of the state, and enthroned Sayaji Rao on the vacant throne. In 1873 Bihar was visited by a serious famine but he saved the affected population. He introduced the free trade and reduced the taxes on exports aud import.

Lord Lytton (1876-80) :—

Lord Lytton succeeded Lord Northbrook as Viceroy in 1876. He was a man of great ability, a poet, essayist, and an eloquent speaker. "As a member of the diplomatic service he had resided at many European courts, and exhibited in his general bearing and in his mental processes a certain unconventionality typical of the cosmopolitian traveller and the man of letters."

Lord Lytton came to India with special instructions to deal with the Afghan question, which was again causing serious uneasiness, owing to be continual advance of the Russian power in Central Asia. Lord Lytton demanded that a British envoy should be stationed at Herat. Sher Ali refused. But Sher Ali was unable to guarantee the life of Englishmen in his country, as the Afghans hated the presence of all foreigners, and he feared that, if any thing happened, he would be embroiled in a war. In 1878 he insisted on sending a mission to Afganistan, which was turned back at the entrance to the Khyber Pass. Thereupon the second Afghan was began. (Its causes and results have already been elsewhere dealt with.)

The Famine of 1876-7. In 1876 Indo-Pakistan was visited by an appallng famine. This time a large area of Madras and Bombay presidencies and of Mysore State was affected and mortality was very heavy. More than five million people were said to have

perished in British territory alone and two million acres of land were temporarily thrown out of cultivation. In consequence, he appointed a *Famine Commission* with General Richard Strachey as President. The Commission conducted an exhaustive inquiry during 1878-80 into the whole question of femines and gratuity of relief, and laid down careful regulations for future guidance. The report of this Commission forms the foundation of the existing provincial *Famine Code.* The main principles adopted were that, employment should be found for the able-bodied on relief works and that gratuitous help should be given to the impotent poor. By these means it was hoped that the local governments would not again be caught unprepared and the loss of life and waste of money might be avoided.

Reforms :—

Lytton's period of office was also notable for the great *fiscal reforms.* His right-hand man in all these reforms was his able finance minister, Sir John Strachey. One of the most important sources of revenue in Indo-Pakistan was salt tax. It had hitherto been levied at very different rates in different provinces. Lord Lytton equalised the rates of the taxes in a large measure. Advance was made in the direction of free trade by remitting many import duties. He extended and developed the system of financial decentralisation begun by Lord Mayo in 1877, by giving the provincial Governments a share in the revenues instead of a fixed grant from the imperial treasury. Though his tenure of office was a notable landmark in Indo-Pak fiscal history, but it was marred by one serious blunder. It was discovered in 1880 that the war estimates were utterly worthless and Lord Lytton was accused by political opponents of intentional concealment and deception.

Lord Lytton also founded the *Statutory Civil Service* in 1879. One sixth of the posts hitherto held by the covenanted civil service, together with some of the most important unconvenanted civil service, were henceforward to be filled by men of Indo-Pak birth. He also passed the *Vernacular Press Act in 1878*. The Act empowered a Magistrate or Collector to require the editor of a news-paper written in an oriental language to enter into a bond to publish nothing likely to excite feelings of a dissatisfaction against the government, or to submit the proofs to an officer appointed by government. The measure was highly invidious as the English papers were exempted from this Act.

Estimate of Lord Lytton :—

No Viceroy in modern times has been so serverely criticised as Lord Lytton. His Afghan policy has been condemned by all. It was indeed a great blunder. His unpopularity became still greater when he passed the Arms Act and the Vernacular Press Act, by which he sought to restrict the possession of arms and to control the Indian newspapers. On these accounts, his administration has been described as a long series of blunders. Neverthless, it cannot be denied that he deserves high praise for having set up the First Famine Commission which made useful recommendations about measures for the relief of distress in striken areas.

Lord Ripon (1880-84) :—

Lord Lytton was succeeded by Lord Ripon, a liberal statesman with a distinguished career. "Lord Ripon was indeed a different stamp from the typical Viceroy, and in his whole political cutlook was the very antithesis of his immediate predecessor." He was a

true liberal of the Gladstonian era, with a strong belief in the virtues of peace, laisser faire, and self-government. His administration is memorable for his sympathetic attitude towards the Indo-Pakistan and for the encourgement of their legitimate aspirations.

His Reforms :—

Administrative reforms. After Lord Ripon had brought the Second Afghan War to a close, he devoted himself to the introduction of administrative reforms which won him the affection of Indo-Pakistanis. His administration is memorable for his sympathetic attitude towards the Indo-Pakistanis. Reversing the previous policy, he wanted that the Indians should be trained to take an active part in the management of their local affairs so that they might in due course be fitted for self-government. He was determined to take some forward steps in the direction of liberalising the Indian Government.

Local Self-Government. Local self-government had been a feature of ancient Indian life, but under British rule these indigenous institutions had decayed, and attempts had been made from time to time to revive them. In 1882 Lord Ripon greatly extended the scope of local self-government. Ripon's aim was twofold. He wanted to bring Englishman and the Indo-Pakistanis together in working for the common good. And secondly, he hoped that the local self-government would develop a sense of responsibility and public spirit, and so prepare Indians to take an increasing share in political affairs of their country. He democratised the existing local self-institutions and introduced elective principle in local bodies. He set up a system of District Boards and Local Boards also known as "tahsil" or "taluk" boards. The powers and responsibilities of the Municipalities were extended. All these local bodies were given

certain financial powers. His measures in the respect helped the growth of democratic ideas in this country.

Judicial Reforms—Ilbert Bill. Another liberal measure of Lord Ripon was his attempt to abolish "judicial disqualification based on race distinctions." Till now a European British subject in places other than the Presidency towns could be tried only by a magistrate or sessions judge of European birth. He sought to remove this indivious system. For this purpose a Bill was introduced known as the *Ilbert Bill* from the name of the Law Member who introduced it. The European community here started a violent agitation against the bill and boycotted the Viceroy. In the face of fierce hostility of the Europeans the Government was obliged to modify the Bill and come to a compromise.

Education. As to educational reforms he appointed an education commission presided over by Sir William Hunter to enquire into the condition of education. He made regulations for improvement of primary and secondary schools, and also made educational institutions comparatively free from official control.

Freedom of the Press. Lord Ripon abolished the Vernacular Press Act passed by Lord Lytton. The newspapers written in vernacular languages were now allowed freedom to discuss political and social questions. Vernacular newspapers were thus placed on a level of equality with those published in English.

Other Reforms. Lord Ripon paid proper attention for the improvement of finance. He extended the free trade policy begun by Lord Northbrook. He lowered the salt tax. He also planned a Tenancy Act to improve the condition of the ryots of Bengal and Oudh, and this was subsequently passed in the time of his successor. He also passed a Factory Act in 1881, which restricted the hours of employment of

children to nine hours a day. The Act also required that dangerous machinery should be properly fenced and officers were to be appointed for inspection.

Estimate of Lord Ripon :—

Lord Ripon resigned in 1884. He was the only Viceroy who was really much popular with the Indian peoples. His short period of office had been marked by many liberal and useful measures. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed and local self-government extended ; the first Census was held ; the Salt Tax was reduced and the Hunter Commission, which was appointed in 1882, made useful suggestions for the extention of elementary education. Lord Ripon also gained the good-will of the Indians by restoring Mysore to its former position of a feudatory state.

CHAPTER XV

FROM LORD DUFFERIN TO LORD CURZON
(1884—1905)

Lord Dufferin (1884—88) :—

Lord Ripon was succeeded by Lord Dufferin in 1884. "Lord Dufferin was one of the formost diplomatists of his time, an eloquent and graceful speaker, and a man of great personal charm. He was therefore peculiarly well-fitted to smooth away the exasperation and bitterness engendered by the controversy on the Ilbert Bill." (P. E Roberts).

The chief events of his administration were the annexation of Upper Burma, (already discussed), the Panjdeh incident, and the foundation of Indian National Congress.

The Panjdeh Incident. After the Second Afghan war, the Russians continued to push forward their influence. In 1884 Russia captured Merve on the north-west frontier of Afghanistan. In 1885 Russians suddenly attacked the Afghan frontier post of Panjdeh. There was an outcry in England but the crisis was averted by the diplomatic policy of Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan and coolness of Dufferin. Mean-while, a commission marked out the frontier line between Afghanistan and Russia to avoid the similar incidents in the future.

The Indian National Congress. Another important event occurred during his Viceroyalty was the first meeting of the Indian National Congress in 1885. It then received the support of a number otEnglish officials.

Reforms. During Lord Dufferin's period of office many useful measures were introduced. In the year 1885 he passed the Bengal Tenancy Act by which he saved the peasants

from the untold oppressions of the landlords. He also passed such an Act in rhe Punjab in 1887 which saved the peasants from the enhancement of rent. A factory Act was passed which limited the daily hours of works to eleven hours and forbade the employment of children under nine years of age.

In 1886 Lord Dufferin appointed a Public Service Commission, to produce a scheme which should do justice to the claims of Indians to higher public sevices, recommended that there should be both an Imperial Civil Service, appointed by examination in London, and Provincial and Subordinate Services, recruited locally. The age limit for the Imperial Service was raised from nineteen to twenty-one.

Lord Lansdowne (1888—1894) :—

In 1888 Lord Lansdowne took over the charge of the government of Indo-Pakistan. He had on the whole an eventful term of office. A serious trouble in the State of Manipur in Assam broke out due to a disputed succession which resulted in the brutal murder of two British officers for which he sent an expedition and dealt with severely. It was also found necessary to send an expedition to the little states of Hunza and Nagar on the Gilgit border. The turbulent tribes of Huzna and Nagar created disturbances which threatened the existence of the state.

The Durrand Mission. In 1892 a mission under Sir Mortimer Durrand was sent to Kabul to settle the disputes between the two countries. A boundary line known as the 'Durrand Line' was demarcated, and several outstanding questions were settled. The Amir agreed not to interfere in Sawat or Chitral, and allowed the railway to be extended from Quetta to Chaman, in return for an annual subsidy of eighteen lakhs and other concessions.

Internal Reforms. His viceroyalty was also marked by several important social political reforms. He amended Lord Ripon's Factory Act of 1881. The working hours for women was limited to eleven hours a day. The minimum hours for children was raised from seven to nine. He also introduced weekly holiday for all factory workers. In the financial affairs he brought some reforms. He made gold as the legal tender and fixed the rate of exchange at fifteen rupees to a sovereign.

Lord Elgin II (1894—1899) :—

After Lord Lansdowne, Lord Elgin came to power. His administration was not marked by any important events. There was, during his time, a local disturbance at Chitral which was easily quelled down. The rising of the Afridi clans were also suppressed, but temporarily. Apart from these, a serious danger came from the Russian influence. In order to check their influence a new boundary agreement was concluded with Russia in 1895 by which the boundary was fixed. In 1896 a terrible plague and famine swooped down upon India and carried off many thousands of victims.

The most important reforms of Lord Elgin II was his military organisation. The old system of military organisation was completely changed and new policy for the curtailment of expenditure was adopted. By the Act of 1895 (passed by him) the whole army was put under the direct control of a single Commander-in-Chief.

Lord Curzon (1899—1905) :—

Lord Curzon was undoubtedly one of the greatest pro-consuls sent by England to govern Indo-Pakistan. He was the youngest of the Governor-General, excepting Lord Dalhousie. P. E. Roberts rightly remarks "Lord

Curzon's viceroyalty was destined to stand out with special prominence. For good or ill no Governor-General since Dalhousie so deeply impressed his personel mark upon the whole framework of Indian administration." He had travelled widely and acquired first-hand experience about Asiatic countries before his assumption of the viceregal office. He was gifted with literary brilliance, eloquence and imagination. He was a man of masterful nature, exuberant energy, unflinching self confidence and autocratic temper. "He was a typical benevolent despot, looking forward to the welfare of the millions entrusted by Providence to his care, but unable to reconcile himself with their new-born political aspirations."

His Foreign Policy :—

Lord Curzon's external policy was mainly concerned with the North-West Frontier tribes, Afghanistan, Persia and with Tibet. His foreign policy was on the whole successful and he did his best to safeguard British interests everywhere.

With regard to the settlement of the North-West frontier tribal areas he reversed the 'forward policy' and withdrew British troops from the advanced frontier posts and replaced them by levies raised from local tribesmen. But within the British sides of the lines forces were strengthened and strategic railways were built up to Jamrud. He created a new North-West Frontier Province consisting of trans-Indus districts of the Punjab and the political agenices of the Malakand, the Khyber, the Kurram, etc. Curzon's northwest frontier policy worked on the whole well till 1914.

During his time, there was some troubles over the question of renewal of the existing treaty with the new Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan. The matter was, however, peacefully settled by Lord Ampthill who was

the Acting Viceroy during Lord Curzon's leave, and cordial relations were re-established.

Great Britain had all along been interested in the Persian Gulf for reasons of its strategical and commercial importance. But the influence of Britain in the Persian Gulf was challenged by other powers like Russia, France and Turkey. So Lord Curzon visited Persian Gulf in 1903 and took effective measures to protect British interests.

Curzon's Tibetan policy was guided by the fear of Russian influence. Tibet was nominally a Chinese dependency. During the time of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty the Tibetans were eager to shake off Chinese sovereignty and were willing to welcome Russian friendship. He therfore sent to Tibet an expedition which, brushing aside the feeble resistance of the Tibetans, occupied Lhasa in 1904. The Tibetans were forced to sign a treaty.

Administrative Reforms :—

As regards the *administration of internal affairs*, he reformed it by overhauling almost the whole machinery of administration. P. E. Roberts rightly remarks, "Internally Lord Curzon's period of office was made specially notable for a drastic overhauling of the whole machinery of administration." He appointed committees to enquire into the existing systems and promptly gave effect to their recommendations. In the administration of land revenue, he introduced greater elasticity in the assessment and collection of the land revenue by arranging for the revision and reduction of assessment as the circumstances required.

He took measures for the condition of the peasant. He started *Co-operative Credit Societies* to provide cultivators with capital at a low rate of interest. He passed the *Punjab Land Alienation Act* to prevent

the land of the cultivators from being transferred to non-agriculturists. He founded an Imperial Agricultural Department to encourage the application of scientific methods to agriculture.

In 1904, he passed the *Universities Act* in order to bring the Universities under the more strict control of the Government and to develop them. It advocated a change in the examination test, change in the teaching staff, insisted on the periodical inspection of the colleges, reorganisation of Senates and Ryndicates of Universities.

A great useful step he took for preserving the historical relics of the past. He passed an Act for the preservation of ancient monuments and established the Department of Archæological Survey which has done much to preserve the relics of the past and to excavate the sites of antiquity.

He set up a new department of Commerce and Industry. Among his financial reforms the most important was the legislation which made gold a legal tender. The Salt Tax was nearly halved and the limit of exemption from the Income Tax was raised.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon a significant change took place in the military administration. He organised the Imperial Cadet Corps to give military training to the sons of the ruling chiefs. He also compelled the Native Princes to maintain a contingent of troops at their own expense to enable them to help the Government in times of need.

Partition of Bengal. Lord Curzon had shown political sagacity and foresighted statesmanship in creating East Bengal. He considered the province of Bengal too big and unwieldy to be effectually administered by one Lieutenant-Governor. So in 1905, he partitioned Bengal and created a new province called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' with its capital at Dacca. This measure was a great

boon for the Muslims of East Bengal who were always neglected in all affairs of the government. In the new province Muslims became naturally dominant. But partition provoked violent opposition from the Hindus of Bengal. A violent agitation spread over the length and breadth of the country. The Hindus started what was called the 'Swadeshi' movement which aimed at boycotting English goods. The agitation eventually led to sporadic outbursts of anarchical crimes. Ultimately, the British government, with a treacherous break of the solemn promises they committed to the Muslims to maintain the new Province, annulled the partition and made unsettled (1911) what they had declared a 'settled fact'.

Estimate of Lord Curzon :—

Lord Curzon was the greatest Governor-General that Indo-Pakistan has had seen since Lord Dalhousie. He was a realistic statesman. His reforms of police force, the spread of a net work of railways, his economic reforms which bettered the condition of the peasants in the Punjab and other reforms are noteworthy. Students of Indian history and archaeology must remain grateful to Lord Curzon for the measures he adopted for preserving ancient buildings and monuments. But his attempts to solve the problem of education made him very unpopular among Indians.

Lord Curzon's chief defect was his inability to realize the growing force of public openion and the necessity to consult it. He had no faith in self-government. It is said that he had a passion for doing the right things in the wrong way. Whatever might be his defects, his viceroyalty was an eminently successful one. "Lord Curzon's name will always stand amongst the foremost of those that make up the illustrious role of the Governor-Generals of India"— P. E. Roberts.

CHAPTER XVI

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

Parliamentary Acts :—

The Regulating Act of 1773. After the victory of Plassey in 1757, the East India Company became the *de facto* ruler of rich Bengal. Uncontrolled officers of the Company began to feather their nests at the expense of this unfortunateland. After accumulating enormous profits these 'nobels' as they were called in England, returned to England to extibit their wealth in the elegant country houses, This corruption and Company's misrule and mismanagement created stir in the British Parliament. The Britain began to realise that a commercial company should not be allowed to rule over such a vast territory without supervision by Parliament.

So the British Government since 1773 intended to interfere and to regulate Company's rule. For this purpose, the British Parliament passed an act known as *the Regulating Act of 1773.* The Regulating Act, 1773, is the first constitutional Act for Indian sub-continent. By this Act, the Governor of Bengal was made Governor-General. It provided a Council of four members for him. In deciding any thing, majority vote was made the deciding factor. The Governor-General and his Council had been given power to superintend and control the governments of Bombay and Madras Presidencies on certain matters such as war, finance etc. It established a Supreme Court in Calcutta.

This Act had many inherent defects. The position of the Governor-General was made very ludicrous due to the provision that the majority vote is the deciding

factor. Consequently, constant frictions and disputes arose between the Governor-General and his Council. Secondly, the authority over the Governments of Bombay and Madras was not clearly defined. So, conflicts arose between the Governor-General-in-Council on the hand and the authorities of these two Presidencies on the other, as to the jurisdiction of their authority. Thirdly, the relation between the Governor-General-in-Council and the Supreme Court was also not well-defined. The result was the frequent quarrels between them.

Pitt's India Act, 1784. To remove the defects of the Regulating Act and also to ensure a closer supervision over the Company's rule, the British Parliament passed an act in 1784. As the Act proposed by the Prime Minister, Pitt, it came to be known as *Pitt's India Act*. It established a *Board of Control* consisting of six Commissioners. The Board was empowered 'to superintend, direct and control all acts, operations and concerns' relating to the government and revenue of the Company's territorial possessions in India. The Company's Court of Directors was to obey the order of the Board of Control. Thus it created a sort of *dual or double* government over India which remained in force till 1858 when the Company was abolished.

Charter Acts. During the period from 1793 to 1853, four Charter Acts were passed each at the expiry of every 20 years. These Acts renewed Company's authority and curtailed it to some extent every time.

The Charter Act of 1833 abolished Company's trading authority altogether. So, the Company became merely an administrative body under the crown. The Act provided that henceforward the Governor-General of Bengal be designated as Governor-General of India. It completely subordinated Bombay and Madras to the Governor-General-in-Council. It added a fourth member—a Law-member to the Governor-General's Council for legislative

purposes. The legislative powers so long enjoyed by Bombay and Madras were withdrawn. Thus *centralisation of power was the keynote of this Act.*

The Charter Act of 1853 provided for the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor for Bengal. For the first time it provided a Legislative Council for India consisting of 12 members—all officials.

The changes made by these Charter Acts carried to its logical conclusion the process that had been began by the Regulating Act of 1773, namely, gradual transfer of power and authority from Company to the Crown.

The Government of India Act, 1858 :—

After the Sepoy Mutiny (1857), the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1858. This Act finally transferred the Government of India from the Company to the British Crown. The Board of Control was abolished and India was placed under the charge of a Secretary of State for India and his Council. He was a member of the British Cabinet and as such was responsible to the British Parliament. Thus, Parliament became supreme over India. Being the representative of the Crown, the Governor-General of India henceforward came to be known also as Viceroy.

Growth of Representative System :—

The Councils Act of 1861. The Legislative Council provided by the Charter Act of 1853, marked the modest beginning of representative or Parliamentary system in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 is the next landmark in the evolution of legislative councils in this sub-continent. This Act made provision for separate legislative councils for the provinces of Bombay and Madras. Thus, it began the process of decentralisation of legislative power. As for the Central legislature, it provided that the Governor-

General should nominate to his Council not less than six and not more than twelve additional members for legislative purposes. At least half of these members were to be non-officials. Thus, this Act marked the beginning of associating non-officials in legislation.

Next came the **Indian Councils Act, 1892.** It increased the number of members of legislative councils both of centre and provinces. The members were given rights to criticise the budget and to ask questions. This Act also introduced a system of indirect election in actual practice. Because non-official members were to be nominated on the recommendation of some local institutions such as District Boards, Universities etc.

Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909. The next important act was the Indian Councils Act, 1909. It was passed on the basis of the joint report made by Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, and Lord Minto, the then Viceroy. So, it was also known as *Morley-Minto Reforms.*

(*a*) This Act enlarged the size of the legislative councils of centre and provinces. (*b*) It, for the first time, *frankly* accepted the principle of election—indirect election in the case of non-Muslims and direct election in the case of Muslims. (*c*) It granted separate election for the Muslims. (*d*) It granted the legislatures the rights to vote on the budget, to move resolutions and to ask questions and one supplementary question on every question.

This Act, no doubt, gave wider opportunities to Indians for expressing their opinions. But it in no way introduced parliamentary or responsible government. The decision till rested with the executive. The legislatures could criticise but could not decide. So, the Act could not satisfy the political aspirations of India.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919. The 1st world war broke out in 1914. Indians helped the British in this

war with men, money and materials. So, in 1917, the British Government declared its policy of "increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and...the progressive realisation of responsible government in India..."

Mr. Montagu, the then Secretary of State for India, along with Lord Chemsford, the then Viceroy, submitted a report suggesting constitutional reforms. The Indian Councils Act of 1919 was based on this report. That is why the Act came to be known as Mont-Ford Reforms. The main features of the Act are as follows :—

(i) It provided a bi-cameral Central legislature consisting of a Legislative Assembly (Lower House), and a Council of the State (Upper House). The Legislative Assembly was made more powerful; elected members were majority in both the Houses. (ii) The Governor-General was given wide powers of law-making and over-riding the legislature. (iii) It retained separate election for Muslims and extended it to Sikhs. (iv) The system of direct election to both Houses was introduced for all communities. (v) It created a post of High Commissioner for India in England. (vi) It took up the first step towards Provincial Autonomy and Federalism. It divided the governmental subjects into Central and Provincial subjects.

(vii) Again, it divided the Provincial subjects into two parts, namely, *Transferred* and *Reserved* Subjects. The Transferred Subjects were those which were to be administered by the Governor with the help and advice of his Ministers. The Reserved Subjects were those which were to be administered by the Governor with help of his Executive Councillors. Since the government was thus divided into two distinct parts, it was known as *Dyarchy*. The Dyarchical system of government remained in force in the provinces till 1937, when

the Provincial Autonomy of the Act of 1935 was introduced.

Till independence in August 14, 1947, the Central Government of India was carried on roughly on the basis of the Act of 1919. Because, due to the opposition of Indian opinion, particularly of the Muslim League, the federal portion of the Act of 1935 was not put in operation.

The Government of India Act, 1935 :—

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms failed to satisfy the political aapirations of the people of this sub-continent. "They were declared almost unanimously by all parties as inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing." *1

In the meantime, Muslims launched *Khilafat Movement* and the Congress started a *Non-co-operation* agitation. To remove this discontenment, the British Government appointed a Royal Commission in 1927 to consult the Indian opinion and to put forward suggestions for further constitutional reforms. Sir John Simon was its president, so it came to be known as *Simon Commission*. As it did not include any Indian, this *all white* Commission was boycotted by almost all parties of India. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah took a leading part in organising the boycott. "Jinnah had galvanised public opinion and prepared the ground for a befitting boycott of the commission." *2 Still the Commission carried on with its works and submited its report in 1930.

Round Table Conference and Communal Award. But the British Government realised that without some co-operation of the Indian people no constitution would be successful. So the British Government invited Indian leaders to a Round Table Conference in London. During the period of 1930 to 1932 three meetings of the Round

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*1. N. C. Ray's 'Constitutional System in India'

*2. M. H. Saiyed's 'Muhammad Ali Jinnah'

Table Conference were held for discussing the future constitutional reforms of India.

But the Round Table Conference could not solve the communal problems of India. Particularly, the Hindu-Muslim problem stood as an obstructing wall on the way of any progress of the Conference. Being a minority, the Muslims naturally demanded some safeguards; but the Hindus rejected them. A deadlock was created. Then, some Hindu leaders called the then British Prime Minister, Sir Ramsay Macdonald, to arbitrate in the matter. So, in the middle of 1932, Ramsy Macdonald gave his verdict known as *Communal Award* which fixed the number of seats for different communities in different legislatures in India.

After the Round Table Conference, the Government published their proposals for the Indian constitution in a document named as *White Paper* in March, 1933. Then a Joint Parliamentary Committee considered the proposals of the White Paper and consulted the views of some Indian leaders. The Committee gave its report suggesting some minor changes on the proposals. On the basis of this report, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, 1935.

Features of the Government of India Act, 1935. (a) The Government of India Act of 1935 proposed for the establishment of an *All India Federation*. There will be a bicameral legislature at the centre. (b) It *granted Autonomy to the Provinces*. Provinces were given well-defined powers and granted responsible government subject to the discretionary powers and special responsibilities of Governors. Governors were made direct representatives of the Crown. So long they were more or less the agent of the Central Government. (ↄ) The British Parliament remained the sole authority for amending the constitution. The power of the Secretary of State to interfere in Indian affairs

was still retained in certain matters. (d) For the exercise of paramount power over the Native States, the Act proposed to appoint a *Crown Representative*; the Governor-General as such could no longer exercise the paramount power. (e) It abolished dyarchy in the provinces. But it *introduced dyarchy at the Federal Centre.* Defence, External Affairs, Ecclesiastial Affairs and the Administration of Tribal Areas were made Reserved Subjects. These were to be administered by the Governor-General according to his discretion i.e, without the advice of the ministry. The remaining subjects of the Centre were to be administered by him on the advice of a *Council of Ministers.* (f) The true responsible form of government was not introduced and the principle of executive pre-eminence was still retained. The Governor-General and Governors were given wide extraordinary powers. The legistatures were made virtually subordinate to them. (g) It *divided governmental subjects into three lists namely, Federal List, Provincial List,* and *Concurrent List.* (h) The Act separated Burma from India, and created two new Provinces—Sind and Orissa.

CHAPTER XVII

IMPACT OF THE WEST ON INDO-PAKISTAN

The British rule reshaped the pattern of things in Indo-Pakistan. It brought India into contact with major historical trends—political, economic, scientific and intellectual—that were agitating and influencing Europe. Western democracy, industrialisation, education and urbanisation increasingly modified the pattern of life in this sub-continent. As a result, India passed from 'nedieval' to the modern age.'

Undoubtedly the foundations of modern India are the traditions of the past, going back to days of the Mauryas and the Guptas, and to cultural heritage brought and nourished by Muslims. But the most modern stories were added during the period of British occupation; these are the rule of law, parliamentary government and basic democratic freedoms, interest in science and a growing secular spirit, the advance of industrialism and the addition of the technological paraphernalia of posts, telegraphs, railways, and harbours.

Political Impact of the British Rule. With British ascendancy had emerged once again peace in India. In the wake of the Mogul Empire's disintergration lawleness had prevailed throughout the country. The extirpation of the Pindaris, the freebooters, and the bandits, together with the establishment of law-courts backed with adequate force, introduced a new era of peace throughout India. The British brought into India a new structure of law, outside Hindu and Muslim personal law, yet based on careful regard for the customs and feelings of the people. The most important legal contribution undoubtedly was the Indian penal code. While the British system of justice as it worked in India had its weaknesses, it nevertheless brought into the country the great legal principle of equality under the

law of all individuals, regardless of their caste status.

By the end of the nineteenth century another achievment that could be rightly claimed by British rule in India was the introduction of the first steps toward representative government. Such institutions on a national scale had heretofore been entitrely unknown in Asia. The first advence in self-government in local units was the work of Lord Ripon, Governor-General from 1880 to 1884. In sponsoring an advance in local self-government, he issued an important resolution in 1882 in which it was stated : "...it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is brought foward. It is chiefly desirable as a measure of political and popular education." Following this lead, acts were passed in the provinces whereby local elected boards were set up beginning with the smallest administrative units and including municipal boards for cities.

Economic and Social Impact. Thus while the British rule brought about a revolution in India in the realm of law and government, it was also the vehicle for the impact of Western culture, causing significant economic and intellectual changes in the pattern of Indian life.

An *economic transformation*, more thorough and basic than any that had taken place in India in its entire history, followed upon the conquest of the country by Great Britain. As English manufacturing began to grow, especially in the field of textiles, there was a demand for protection against Indian goods. After the rapid development of the Industrial Revolution in England, English businessmen desired to sell their manufactured wares in the Indian market. No longer able to compete against the machine-made fabrics of England, the native textile industry declined, and a large number of weavers and other workers lost their traditional employ-

ment. At the same time, however, India greatly increased her export trade, for she still enjoyed a comparative economic advantage in the production of certain raw materials, such as indigo, cotton, tea, jute, wheat, oilseeds, hides, and linseed oil. "India was thus rapidly transformed from a country of combined agriculture and handicrafts into a purely agricultural colony of British industry, resulting in the severe overpressure on agriculture which has remained one of the most critical problems of modern India."*

Accompanying the decline of industry came fundamental changes in the status of the Indian village. For hundreds of years, while dynasty succeeded dynasty in India, the village had remained changeless. It was little affected by the outside world and was practically self-sufficient. The impact of the new economic forces that entered India with British rule upset this ancient village way of life.

Early in the nineteenth century railroads were built and began to crisscross the countryside. These changes gradually opened up the villages to the outside world. Cash could be obtained by the peasants from the sale of their produce in the nearby markets Agriculture consequently became commercialized. Before the British conquest, farm-products had to be sold in each local area, the surplus could not be transported elsewhere. The opening of the village now brought it into contact with the wide market, and, in the case of certain products such as wheat or tea, with the world market.

Another change in the village was the increased mobility of its members. Although the great majority of Indian villagers still are born and die in the same rural area, the advent of better communications gave

* Kate Mitchell, *India without Fable* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942), P. 121.

the more ambitious the chance to "try their luck elsewhere," sometimes in a less densely populated district or perhaps in a large city.

New concepts of property also exerted influence in village life. Lord Cornwallis in 1790 made what is known as the Permanent Revenue Settlement. By this action the old tax collectors, the zemindars of the Mogul Empire, were recognized as private landlords.

One of the most important results of the new economics in India was the rise of a well-educated, dynamic, and ambitious middle class, numerically small but influential. Opportunities for expanding trade and better protection for property brought about the development of a wealthy banking and commercial class. To its ranks were added the new professional men, especially the educators, journalists, and lawyers. During 1858 to 1900 India received her railroads, mails and telegraphs, modern roads, banks, and harbours.

The intellectual impact of the West. The introduction of Western thought and education was as significant for India as the economic transformation. The missionaries were the pioneers in introducing European culture into India. First the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, then Italians in the seventeenth, and Danes in the early eighteenth century set up their missions. These early missionaries carried on important linguistic studies. British missionaries under William Carey at Serampore near Calcutta set up a printing press in 1801 and began the publication of books in the Indian vernaculars, and works in the English language.

Up to this time, no presses existed in India. The Serampore press soon had many imitators, and by 1838 printing was a widespread industry. The first Indian newspaper was issued in 1816. By 1823 there were four Indian newspapers in Calcutta alone. The product of these presses brought out a flood of new ideas

which were eagerly absorbed by the small but influential group of literate Indians.

Early in the ninteenth century both Indian intellectuals and Englishmen began to look favourably on the establishment of Western education in India. In 1817, the Hindu College for the study of English was set up at Calcutta by the efforts of David Hare, an English watch-maker in Calcutta, and Ram Mohan Roy, an Indian admirer of European culture. Thomas Babington Macaulay, member of the Governor-General's executive council, issued his famous *Education Minute* in February 1835. Macaulay's basic recommendation, that English be the medium and English literature and science the material of instruction in the advanced schools, should be accepted. The decision to base higher education in India upon the English language and on Western culture was announced by Bentinck in March 1835. Behind the *Minute* was the belief of English officials that Western education was the best medium for "modernizing" India, the recognition that Britian needed a Western-educated class to help in the administration of the country. By 1885, this new education system was well-established which served as the vehicle of Western culture and brought about a revolution in the thought-climate of India. This new Western learning class exerted tremdendous influence. India became part of a world community, sharing in the rich legacy of science and rational thought that was the product of the 19th century. A new generation of Indian intellectuals was produced.

The best example of the product of Western education was Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833). Learning English, studying Greek and Hebrew, he became fascinated by western thought and deeply interested in all religions. Ram Mohan Roy founded *Brahmi Samaj* which sought to purge Hindism of such practices as pardah,

and child marriage and image worship. In fact, while Hindu in orientation, the Brahma Samaj contained Christian humanistic elements.

Impact on Society and Religion. With the spreed of western education began a strong wave of reforming activities in religion and society, particularly in Hindu society. The impact of western ideas gave a rude shock to their cherished ideas and institutions. Moreover, Christian missionary activity posed a challenge to Indian religions. Particularly in the South and Western India Christianity had made a sustained onstaught on Hinduism. Hinduism reacted and threw up a number of movements and sects for adapting itself to the new circumtances. The *Brahma Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, Ramakrishna Mission* and many other movements were organised. These socio-religious movements stirred Hindu society to its depth. They liberalised, re-oriented and revised Hinduism. They gave their votaries a new sense of self-respect and a new pride in the past.

The impact of the British rule was more adverse and more striking on Muslims than on any other communities. The Muslims not only lost empire, power and supremacy but were deliberately crushed by an alien and antagonistic rule. In the next chapter we have discussed their position in details.

CHAPTER XVIII

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS THE MUSLIMS

The Policy of Suppression, Annihilation and Elimination :—

During the Company's rule and the early period of the British rule the Muslims were not trusted, they were rather considered 'a source of chronic danger to the British.' The British realised that Muslims could not be reconciled to their rule and they would not miss any opportunity to win back their freedom. This consciousness was further strengthened by the prejudice of Christians against Islam and Muslims in general. So a policy of elimination of Muslims from every wake of life was deliberated pursued by the British. As a result, the Muslims, who were naturally hard hit by the loss of empire and political power, were crushed not only politically but also economically, socially and morally.

"From the very beginning the East India Company almost exclusively employed the Hindus as its agent and servants." * This alliance with the Hindus was possible as the Hindus only changed the master. The Muslims could not be expected to be grateful to the British for uprooting their empire whereas the Hindus often helped the British in establishing their dominance. It was therefore natural to distrust Muslims and to adopt policies ignoring and injuring the interests of the Muslims. As the Muslims were not trusted, whenever the British needed native help, they employed the Hindus; whenever they could do away with a Muslim, they did do so. So great was this prejudice that even the Persian teacher

* History of Freedom Movement Vol. II, Part II, P. 335, published by Pakistan Historical Society.

of Warren Hastings was a Hindu. This attitude lasted long after Mutiny. The British policy thus was so disastrous to the Muslims that the Muslims had been completely crushed and humiliated.

While the Hindus accepted the British system of education, the Muslims found it difficult to discard their own system of education, language and cultural heritage. The missionary zeal shown by the government officers and propagation of the Christian missionaries could not give the Muslims any confidence in the new education system. So if the Muslims did not make any enthusiastic efforts to acquire western education, it was not surprising. So while the Muslims had held aloof from the British system of education the Hindus eagerly acquired it and made them fit for jobs under the new regime. No doubt, the British then did not trust Indians with any responsibility, and all the higher posts were reserved for Englishmen ; only the lower posts were offered to the Hindus. But the Muslims were drived and squeezed out of political field.

The gravest injury inflicted upon the Muslims was to cripple their educational system. The introduction of English as the official language reduced the economic value of Persian and the Muslim educated class were put in a helpless position. Moreover, with the economic ruination of the Muslims, they became unable to maintain their own educational institutions established by acts of piety, donation, endowments of the rich Muslims. Many Muslim endowments were taken over by the Government and their funds diverted to purposes which were not in accordance with the desires of the donars. William Hunter in his book 'Our Indian Musalmans' confirmed the charge the Muslims made against the Government of "deliberate malversation of their religious foundations and of misappropriation on

the largest scale of their education funds." Company's resumption of rent free grants to the these institutions struck the final blow at them. 'Every mosque had a school attached to it; with the resumption of old grants this system went out of existence. The result was the drastic reduction in the percentage of literacy among the Muslims. Thus an educated community turned into one of the most illiterate one.

Owing to the loss of opportunities of employment in Government service, the Muslims were very badly hit. The resultant economic distress ruined many a Muslim family. The plight of the Muslims has been aptly described by W. Hunter, when he says "to this day, they (the Muslims) exhibit at intervals their old intense feeling of nationality and capability of warlike enterprise, but in all other respects they are a race ruined under British rule."* He further remarks: "a hundred and seventy years ago it was impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to be poor; at present it is impossible for him to continue rich."* Hunter has cited in his book many instances how all avenues of profitable employment were denied to the Muslims.

Muslims were in forefront in trade and commerce, both home and foreign. But the corrupted methods adopted by the servants of the East India Company caused to ruin their trade. The private trade of the Company's servants, which was permitted to continue until 1773, disorganised the market and ruined the local traders.

Craftsmen were, in many places, almost exclusively Muslims. All finer qualities of taxtiles, like Dacca Muslin and Kashmiri shawls, were woven by Muslim master craftsmen. The manufacture of carpets was a Muslim monopoly. The manufacture of higher qualities

* W. Hunter's Our Indian Musalmans, P. 149 and 155.

of jewellery were in Muslims' hands. The demand for these articles diminished as their main customers,—the Muslim aristocracy, officials, zemindars were ruined under the British Raj. Moreover the British Government patronised the British manufactures at the cost of Indian industry. This was achieved by imposing prohibitive duties on exportable products of India.

Thus the Muslims, who had been rulers of this land for centuries, were prosperous and wealthy, more advanced in education, culture and political consciousness than any other community in this sub-continent, sunk into the 'lowest depths of broken pride, black despair and general penury' by the end of the 19th century.

The British changed their Policy :—

Upto the 'Mutiny', it was an unrelieved tale of brutal effort to crush the Muslims. It was the blood-bath of the Mutiny and the Martial law thereafter which led some Britishers to think whether they should be just to the Muslims. The British I. C. S. Willian Hunter's works contributed much in this respect. Moreover, the British by the end of the 19th century found Muslims exhausted in freedom fighting, and began to find that 'the mild Hindu' was thinking in terms of demanding rights and power. So they now thought that the reconciliation with the Muslims might serve the purpose of counterbalancing the influence and demand of the Hindus. It was under these changed circumstance that Sir Syed Ahmed started his efforts and movement for ordering the house of the Muslims.

CHAPTER XIX

FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

Muslim Movements in the 19th Century :—

The movements launched by the Muslims in the 19th century were politico-religious. It had two aims, namely, regaining of political freedom and puritanical reforms.

Inspite of the downfall of the Muslims they were always in the forefronts of the fight for freedom. While Hindus were taking advantage of the British rule and facilities offered by it, the Muslims were raising the banner of revolt, though unsuccessful, one after another.

In the early 19th century, the first political movement was led by Maulana Sayyed Ahmed Shaheed of Bareli who started a Jihad in 1826 against the Sikhs who under Ranjit Singh and in alliance with the East India Company adopted an aggressive policy towards Muslims. Sayyed Ahmed Barelivi captured Peshawar from the Sikhs in 1829, and carried on further the holy war until he died a martyr's death on the battle-field of Balakot in Hazara district.

During this time, an unsuccessful revolt was made by one Titu Mir in Bengal. At Naricalbaria near Calcutta he erected a 'fort of bamboo' from where he established his authority in some areas of 24 Parganas, Nadia and Faridpur. Governor-General Lord Bentinck had sent a strong force to suppress him. In November 1831, Titu Mir fell fighting along with his followers against the British.

After the fall of Sayyed Ahmed at Balakot, his followers carried on campaigns, They then came in direct conflict with the British. The centre of their longdrawn war of independence was Patna but the

warfront was the North West Frontier. Sayyed Ahmed's two liutenants—Moulvi Wilayat Ali and his brother Inayat Ali led the movement. They got support in in men, money and resources mainly from Bihar, Bengal and the Frontier Province. Many wars were fought, of which the most important was fought at Sitana in 1858. In 1852, the *Mujahidin* conspired to make a revolt by the 4th Regiment of the Native Infantry at Rawalpindi. It was only after the Ambala compaign that the British government realised that peace could not be established unless the movement for *jihad* so widespred was thoroughly suppressed and its organisation completely destroyed. Ruthless measures in the shape of trials and persecution followed.

We have already dealt with the Great War of Independece—the Mutiny of 1857 where we pointed not that in that War, the brunt of loss fell on Muslims. They lost more men, more wealth than other class of citizens.

Reforms Movements :—

Simutaneously with War of Independence, there were movements for reforms in the Muslim manners, customs and practices. The first Muslim reformer in Indo-Pakistan was Shah Waliuallah. He in the middle of the 18th century devoted himself in inculcating among the Muslims a proper understanding of Islam. Later Muslim reformers got inspiration directly or indirectly from his noble example and works. After his death, his sons Shah Abdul Oadir and Abdul Hye and his son-in-law Shah Abdul Aziz carried on religious and social reform activities in the later part of the 18th and the first part of the 19th century. The brave freedom fighter Sayyed Ahmed Shaheed also belonged to this group of reformists. Moulana Karamat'Ali of Jaunpur (died 1873), whose energetic religious propaganda in East Bengal stirred the Muslim masses and served as a facter in

cultural and religious evolution of Muslim Bengal, was a disciple of Sayyed Ahmed. *Haji Shariatullah* of Bahadurpur in Faridpur, who and whose family carried on reform activities in East Bengal, was also inspired by Sayyed Ahmed Shaheed. Their school is often confounded with the *Wahabi Movement*, but they in fact upheld the orthodox and Sufi schools.

The reform movement thus enunciated was carried on by Sir Sayed Ahmed, Syed Amir Ali and Iqbal in later period.

Sir Syed Ahmed (1817—98) :—

The Muslims at the beginning of Company's rule were, in the words of W. Hunter, 'Superior in race and superior not only in the stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organisation and the science of political government, fell in the depth of downfall after the Mutiny.' It was in this moribund state that Sir Syed came forward to lead them. He concentrated his energy mainly from two objectives : (a) to remove distrust and achieve understanding between the rulers and the Muslims, and (b) to arouse Musalmans from downfall and stagnation. He proved himself the greatest statesman and reformer of the 19th century.

Sir Syed gave orientation to reforming and political movements so long carried on by Muslims.

He argued that the Muslim way of life should be regenerated, and that this could only be achieved through western education. He argued that such a course was not contrary to the teachings of Islam. As a result of his efforts the Aligarah College was founded in 1877, with the object to teach Muslims English education without prejudice their religion. The college, later on became a university, became the heart of the Muslims movement, winning to western education.

Sir Syed thought over the tragedy of Mutiny and trials under martial law, and came to the conclusion that ignorance is the root cause. He, therefore, set himself to the task of educating both the ruler and the ruled. For educating the ruler he wrote a booklet, namely, *The Causes of Indian Revolt.*

The book was a strong criticism of the system of pre-Mutiny administration. In it he proved that the main cause of the revolt was the misgovernment and the absence of Indians to represent Indian point of view. He thus pointed out the defects of administration. Copies of this book were sent to all high officials and members of the British Parliament. For removing the wrong impression of the British officials regarding the Muslims he started a magazine namely, "*The Loyal Mohammadans of India*" in which faithful services of Muslims to the British were recorded.

He realised that education was the key to the rescue of the Musalmans. He realised that unless they received modern education, their condition could not improve. So, he established English schools in many places. He established a 'Translation Society' in 1864. This Society translated many valuable English books into Urdu.

In 1886, Syed founded "The Muhammadan Educational Conference." It held meetings in various cities and carried the massage of Aligarh Movement to every nook and corner of the country. It was a powerful agency for intellectual awakening and for the spread of modern education among the Muslims. It attracted orators like Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, writers like Shibli and poets like Hali. Hali's famous Urdu poem *Musaddas*, which described the downfall of the Muslims in appealing language, greatly awakened the Muslims. It created a stir at that time. So, it helped greatly Sir Syed's efforts.

The Educational Conference also served, before the establishment of Muslim League, as the political platform for the Muslims.

His political activity. In the meantime Indian National Congress was formed (1885). He was ready to co-operate with the Hindus. But he advised the Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress.

From the very inception of the National Congress Sir Syed perceived in it a potential danger to the Muslims. He was bitterly opposed to the extension of the single majority or representative rule because he saw in it the device which would relegate the Muslims into the status of a permanent minority. In 1883 Sir Syed made this quite clear when he said :

For socio-political purposes the whole of the population of England forms but one community. It is obvious that the same cannot be said of India. The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is, no doubt, the best system that can be adopted. But in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all sections of the population...the system of election, pure and simple, cannot safely be adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community." *

His advice proved his political sagacity ; it proved that he realised, the Muslims are politically separate from the Hindus. His warning and advice kept the Muslims aloof from the Congress. In 1885, only two

* From "Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India, 1883," quoted in Coupland's India : A Restatement. P. 93.

Muslims attended the first meeting of the Congress. In 1905, only 17 Muslim delegates attended out of total 756 delegates.

Sir Syed was the first leader of the Muslims after the downfall of Muslims in India. "He gave Indian Muslims a new cohesion, a new political policy...." He rallied together the Indian Muslims, and became "the first prophet of their new nationhood." He not only guided the nation at a most critical time, but also brought to forefront a large number of capable men like Hali, Shibli, Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, and Viqarul Mulk. Every one of them contributed much in bringing about renaissance in Muslim India.

But Syed Ahmed was not only a zealous guardian of Muslim interests, he was also a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity, and co-operated with the Hindu leaders. He was a brave fighter for the rights of peoples of this country. As early as 1860, he advocated the inclusion of Indians in the Legislature Council. In his booklet '*Causes of the Indian Revolt*,' he strongly supported the Indian Civil Service agitation and the Ilbert Bill. He proved his courage in criticising the British Government even when the country was under Martial Law after 'the Mutiny.' He expressed demand of India in a language unequalled in the entire Congress literature of the 19th century.

The Dawn of Indian Nationalism and the Foundation of the Congress :—

Modern nationalism was imported into India from Europe. The story of the national unification of France and England, the patriotic crusade of subjugated Europeans against the imperialistic tyranny of Napoleon, the struggle of the Greeks against the Turks for their national independence, and the achievements of Bismarck and Cavour in creating united and independent mother-

lands for their peoples—all these helped to kindle the nationalistic fire in India. In addition to the political unification of India brought about by the British conquest, the use of English as the lingua franca made it possible for men all over the country to exchange views and compare opinions. Cheap postage and the printing press were indispensable agencies working for a sense of unity that had never existed before in India. The railroads also assisted in the process, mainly by facilitating travel all over the country.

The education provided in the schools was a rich well from which young middle-class Indians drank deeply. They read of the political philosophy of John Locke, of his social contract theory justifying revolution. This first generation of Indian nationalists followed the tradition of Ram Mohan Roy. They were liberals and had an abiding faith in parliamentary institutions. In addition to the stimulating stock of Western ideas, Indian nationalism was also nourished by the recovery of India's past, which, before the opening of the nineteenth century, was almost a blank page as far as the pre-Moghul period is concerned.

A sense of nationalism hesitatingly made itself evident in the 1860's, but in the next decade, during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton (1876-1880), it grew rapidly. A vernacular press act was passed, giving the government better control over Indian newspapers. People were also restricted from carrying firearms by the enactment of an arms act. Another action, this time by the government in London, aroused much resentment. Official statements and royal proclamations had been made, promising Indians equal opportunities in the government service. Yet the I.C S., the top-level branch of the administration, was kept practically a closed preserve to Indians. This was proved in the case of Surendranath Banarjee, who was finally admitted only

to be dismissed from the I.C.S. on a minor charge. Frustrated in his ambition for a government career, Banerjee turned to politics, and in 1876 he founded the Indian Association of Calcutta with branches in the main cities of northern India. In 1877, following the reduction in age for the I.C.S. examinations, Banerjee used the Indian Association for a whirlwind campaign against the action of the British government. This civil service agitation thus played an important part in the story of the origin of nationalism in India.

Lord Ripon, the governor-general following Lytton, was a Victorian liberal, and during his administration (1880-1884) sincere attempts were made to liberalize the government. One of the measures was the Ilbert Bill, introduced in 1883 and designed to remove the privilege heretofore enjoyed by Europeans by which they were guaranteed a British judge in case of trial. This Ilbert Bill, however, provoked a tempestuous explosion among the members of the European community, who started a Defence Association and carried on a noisy and violent agitation against the measure. Consequently the bill was toned down. The European community had won its point, but, it had given Indians a good object lesson in the value of organization and agitation. The European explosion over the Ilbert Bill also exposed to sensitive Indian nationalists the racial arrogance of many Englishmen in their country.

It was during the agitation over the Ilbert Bill that Indian spokesmen for the nationalist movement responded by organizing the Indian National Conference. Led by Surendranath Banerjea, it met in Calcutta in 1883 with representatives from all parts of India. The following year the growing national spirit was reflected in a meeting held at Madras.

Birth of Indian National Congrees. In the meantime A. O. Hume, a retired civilian clearly perceived the

intensity of the Indo-Pakistani feelings. He wanted to divert them into a constitutional channel. He addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University urging them to organise an association. He enlisted official favour in support of such an organisation. Lord Dufferin, the then Governor-General, encouraged the formation of some responsible organisation through which the 'Government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public opinion.' Mr. Hume accordingly succeeded in giving effect to his plan and the first Indian National Congress met in Poona in December, 1885 under the presidency of a Bengali Barrister, Mr. W. C. Banerjee. It was attended by 72 delegates of whom only two were Musalmans. The Indian National Congress was thus overwhelmingly Hindu in composition. And what of the attimude of British officials to it ? At first the Government of India was friendly to the new movement. Officials attended the Congress, and Governors in the various provinces arranged official receptions and garden parties for the members. This sympathy, however, soon waned, and the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin (1884-1888), rather contemptuously referred to Congress membership as a "microscopic minority."

CHAPTER XX

MUSLIM POLITICS—ITS GENESIS AND GOAL

The political history of Musalmans of Indo-Pakistan during the later half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century may be demacrated into four phases or periods. (1) The first phase started with the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmed who devoted himself for the removal of ill-feeling of the British towards the Musalmans and led the Muslims to the path of co-operation with the British. (2) The second phase began with the demand for separate representation for the Muslims and culminated in the formation of the All India Muslim League and the constitutional guarantee of separate election in the Government of India Act, 1909. (3) The third period began with Hindu-Muslim entente through the Lucknow Pact (1916) and Khilafat Movement and the breach of this entente through Nehru Report. (4) The fourth phase began with the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. It fulminated in the demand and achievement of Pakistan.

We have already dealt with the first phase services of Sir Sayed. In this chapter we discuss the rest of the history of Muslim Politics.

Formation of Muslim League :—

The Congress could not be the representative of the Muslims. Because, its object of self-government on *the principle of majority rule* meant the possibility of a Hindu Raj in this country. It was therefore essential for the Muslims to keep aloof from that body. The militant Hindu Nationalism and anti-Muslim policy of the Congress, more than Sir Syed Ahmed's advice and influence, kept away the Muslims from the trap of much advertised Indian nationalism of the Congress.*

* B. G. Tilak, one of its (Congress) fanatic leaders openly began an anti-Muslim propaganda under the Congress flag by founding an anti-cow-killing movement spread over the entire sub-continent. (See A. B. Rajput's "Muslim League.")

Partition of Bengal (1905). In 1905, the Province of Bengal was partitioned by Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India. With the three divisions of Chittagong, Dacca, Rajshahi along with Assam, a new province known as 'Eastern Bengal' was formed. As the Muslims constituted over-whelming majority in the new Eastern Bengal, they naturally gained by partition. This measure saved them from the domination of Calcutta-Hindus who were predominant in the goverenment of Bengal. With establishment of its new capital at Dacca with a High Court, government offices, colleges and other fine buildings, a new pride was felt among the people of Eastern Bengal. But this new province was not tolerated by the Hindus; they took a vow for its annulment and launched agitation.

Sir Surrendra Nath along with all other Hindu leaders of Bengal led the agitation. Their movement gained momentum. At last British government surrendered to the agitation of the Hindus. In December 1911, a Royal Proclamation announced the annulment of the partition of Bengal. This annulment was a shameless treachery to the Muslims. "The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal were told again and again by Ministers, by Viceroys, by Lt-Governors and by all the officers of the new province that they would never again be placed under the domination of Calcutta-Bengalees. Under the greatest provocation they remained perfectly quiet for seven years relying upon the British pledges."* This anti-partition movement of the Hindus also widened the breach.

Separate Election. Another factor helped Muslims feel the necessity of a political organisation. The Indian Council Act of 1892, introduced a round-about system of election. That means, it gave some local bodies the right to suggest names for nomination to the legislative

1 Mr. Lovett's History of the Indian National Movement.

councils. But from 1892 to 1906 no Muslims could secure a seat to the councils through this system. So, Muslim leaders rightly realised that without separate election it would be impossible for the Muslims to secure their due share in the government and to safeguard their interests. In 1906, the British Government announced their intention of introducing constitutional changes in India. Muslim leaders took this opportunity and decided to consolidate their forces to secure separate representation. Accordingly, they carried on agitation. As early as October 1906, a Deputation with His Highness the Aga Khan as the leader waited upon the Viceroy, Lord Minto. [1] The Deputation brought home to him the necessity of separate representation for the Muslims not only in the legislatures but also in the local bodies. Lord Minto was impressed by the arguments of Deputation and his reply was sympathetic, rather an assurance. The success of the Deputation inspired new hopes, and the leaders thought to have a permanent organisation for the Muslims. The Muslim Education Conference was holding its annual meeting in December, 1906. In that meeting, Sir Salimullah proposed the formation of Muslim Leagure and the All India Muslim League came into being. In the following Constitutional Act of 1909, the Muslim demand for separate election was conceded.

Lucknow Pact :—

The Lucknow Pact. The happenings both in India and abroad after 1910 brought about a complete change in the Muslim politics in India. The annulment of

1 The Deputation was the most influential and the representative which includes H. H. the Aga Khan, Nawab Mohsinul-Mulk, Nawab Salimullah, (Sir) Abdur Rahim, Hakim Azmal Khan and others. The memorandum it submitted was a model of political acumen and the best written political document ever submitted by Indian Muslims.

the partition of Bengal, and the Balkhan War shocked the Muslims. Moulana Muhammad Ali and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad took the opportunity. The fiery writings of Muhammad Ali in his paper *Comrade* and those of Abul Kalam in his Urdu *Al-Helal* gave a death-blow to the Muslim-loyalty to the British. They now sought alliance with the Congress. The result was the famous *Lucknow Pact* between the Muslim League and the Congress in 1916. The main principles of the pact were as follows: (a) The Muslim League must, jointly with the Congress, demand for the establishment of complete self-government in India. (b) Muslims should be given reserved seats to the legislatures with the right of separate election.

Khilafat Movement :—

The next important political event of the Muslims was Khilafat Movement.

Muslims of Indo-Pakistan had always a soft corner for Turkey and a regard for Khilafat. In spite of deep dissatisfaction with the British Government, the Muslims helped the British in the 1st World War (1914—18). Muslims wanted only an assurance that after the war Turkish Empire and Caliphate would not be dismembered. The British Prime Minister gave solemn assurance to the Muslims to this effect. But after the war these solemn assurances were broken and the Turkish Empire was broken into pieces by the British and other allied powers. This raised an uproar among the Muslims of India and they rose to a man against this treachery and injustice. The movement began (1920). In the meantime the Congress launched a non-cooperation movement. So both the movements, being directed against the British Government, merged into one.

Gandhiji was chosen as the sole dictator of the movement. He declared his policy of non-violent non-

cooperation ; he gave direction for the complete boycott of everything British. Thousands of Muslims left their jobs, students and teachers boycotted their schools and colleges. "And then came the most tragic part of the episode. Eighteen thousand Muslims sold away their properties and migrated to Afghanistan." Soon Afghanistan closed the frontier. Thousands of emigrants were stranded and the road from Kabul to Peshawar became dotted with the graves of refugees. The movement was perhaps on the way of success. But suddenly Gandhiji, on an excuse of violence by a mob at a police-station at Chauri-Chaura in which some policemen were burned to death, suspended the movement (1922).

Thus the Khilafat Movement failed. Its shock was terrible to Muslims. They suffered much and their progress hampered seriously. "They were exhausted morally, physically, economically and intellectually." It was followed by serious communal riots among the Hindus and the Muslims throughout the country. The hope of Hindu-Muslim unity was thus lost. This led the Muslims towards the idea of *self-reliance.*

The Nehru Report :—

In 1928, Nehru Report * called for the Muslims to give up separate electorates, and suggested a federal government in which provinces would have little autonomy. The Muslims reacted strongly; and when the All-Parties Conference met at Calcutta (December, 1928) to discuss the Report, Mr. Jinnah proposed a number of amendments which were voted down by the Hindu delegates. Consequently the Muslims left the Conference. The breach between the Hindus and the Muslims became complete. From now on the Congress became for all purposes a Hindu organisation.

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* A report submitted by a committee headed by Motilal Nehru to draft a Plan for future government acceptable to all

Leadership of Quaid-e-Azam, Reorganisation of Muslim League and Demand for Pakistan :—

Quaid-e-Azam re-organised the Muslim League. The provincial autonomy of the Government of India Act, 1935, was put in force in 1937. The working of the provincial autonomy expoused the utterly helpless position of the Muslims. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah and many other Muslim leaders found that if the Muslims of India were not solidly organised, they were bound to be doomed in the new political set up. Quaid-e-Azam calmly surveyed the political scene of the country ; and with a trust in Almighty, in himself and in the people he set himself to the task of reorganising and revitalising the Muslim League.

The task was not an easy one. The whole forces of the Congress, the entire Hindu press and the petty organisations of some misguided Muslims such as *Ahrars party*, *Momins party*, *Jamiat-e-Ullama*, *Unionists* and *Krishak Proja Samity* etc. stood against his mission. Lastly, there was the British Government which did not see the Muslim League eye to eye. But Quaid-e-Azam was equal to the occasion. He was confident of his strength, firm in his conviction, and determined in his action.

In October, 1937, the annual session of the Muslim League was held at Lucknow. His presidential address to the session marked the turning point in the history of Muslim India and opened a new chapter in the League. It reoriented the policy of the League and its creed was changed to full independence. Quaid-e-Azam began to tour every nook and corner of the country to consolidate the Muslims and to strengthen League. Flock after flock of Muslims began to rally round their saviour—the Quaid-e-Azam. His words began to regarded almost as revelation.

In the general election of 1937, the Congress had become

victorious in the Hindu Provinces and even in the Muslim Province of the North-West Frontier. This made the Congress haughty and proud. They after some bargaining with the British authority formed Ministries in Hindu Majority Provinces. The Congress refused to admit any Muslim in the Ministry unless he became a Congress member. The Ministers ordered the hoisting of the Congress flag on government buildings, made the singing of *the Bande Matram* compulsory in the legislatures and educational institutions, initiated the use of Hindi as the national language. Lastly, *Viddya Mandir Education Scheme* was introduced. As a result of these and many other activities of the Congressites, a fanatic sentiment was created among the Hindus and they were made to believe that *Hindu Raj* had been established. The inevitable result was widespread serious communal riots in the Hindu-majority provinces. Thus, during the 27 months of the Congress-rule the position of the Muslims became precarious.

In the midst of these storms and against the totalitarian mentality of the Congress, Jinna stood like a rock. It became now clear to him that if one central (federal) government was formed, the future of the Muslims in India would be doomed. In that case, even in the Muslim-majority provinces the Muslims would not be able to influence the governments. So, Quaid-e-Azam began to concentrate all his energies to fight against the imposition of the federal scheme of the Act of 1935. He declared, "we do not want under any circumstances a constitution of an All India character with one government at the centre." And finally he, by forces of his logic, insistence and agitation, compelled the British Government to give it up. In 1939, when 2nd world war broke out, Viceroy declared the postponement of the federal scheme. Further, he promised to Quaid-e-Azam that the

question of future constitution of this country would be considered *de novo* after the war. Thus, Quaid-e-Azam removed the greatest hurdle from the way of achieving the goal of Muslim India. In the meantime, the Congress Ministries resigned office (in 1939) in protest against the war policy of the government.

Lahore Resolution and Demand for Pakistan. It has now become quite clear that the Hindus and the Muslims are two separate nations. Jinna successfully roused the Muslims to the gravity of the situation and infused a new life in the body-politics of the Muslims. Muslim's politics now completely centred round him; he became the very symbol of Muslim unity. He took up the question of the determination of the goal of the Muslims—the creation of a separate Muslim State. In 1940, in the Lahore session of the League he defined the gool; the Lahore Resolution was passed demanding a sovereign State known as Pakistan for the Muslims. The Lahore Resolution was based on the Two Nations Theory. The Resolution runs thus: "Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, namely, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent-units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political,

administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where Muslims are in a minority adequate, effective and maudatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other miniorities for the protection of religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consuitation with them."

The wording of the Resolution as to whether North Western and Eastern zones should be one state or 'states' and as to the political status of the units is not very happy and creates some confusion. But it is later on accepted by all that there would be one state of Pakistan and its unit would have the widest possible autonomy.

Achievement of Paklstan :—

Since the day of Lahore Resolution, all the efforts and activities of Quaid-e-Azam were inspired by one idea—achievement of Pakistan. The "gospel of Pakistan was preached from a hundred platforms and a thousand pulpits. Jinna was the guiding-spirit of the whole struggle." Day by day the demand for Pakistan became irresistable. The more the opposition came from the Congress and the British, the more zealously the Muslims stood by this idea.

Cripps' Mission. In 1942, when the Japanese were knocking at the door of Eastern Frontier of India, the British Government sent a Cabinet member—Sir Stafford Cripps to India with a special mission. Mr. Cripps made, on behalf of the British Government, a draft declaration of the proposals the principal features of which were as follows :—

(a) The creation of a new Indian Union—a Dominion.

(b) The setting up, after the cessation of war, of a constitution-making body and the signing of a treaty,

between the His Majesty's Government and the Constituent Assembly relating to complete transfer of power from the British to Indian hands.

(c) Immediately an interim Government would be formed consisting of the representatives of the major parties for the effective conduct of war. But the British Government would retain complete control over, and direction of, the Defence Department.

(d) It recognised the right of any Province to remain aloof from the proposed Union and to make a separate treaty with the British Government by such non-acceding Province or Provinces. Thus it granted the right of self-determination for every Province.

The Congress rejected this proposal on the ground that it did not bring immediate independence to India as Defence was not to be transferred to Indian hands during the war, and because the Executive Council consisting of popular representatives would formally and legally remain sub-ordinate to the Governor-General. But in fact the chief reason for its rejection by the Congress was that it thought 'the principle of non-accession' to the Union a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity. In short, the Congress was afraid that the Muslim-majority Provinces would not accede to the proposed Union. The Muslim League also rejected Cripps' offer as it thought that though 'Pakistan is recognised by implication, yet the primary object of the proposals is to create one India Union, the creation of more than one union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility' due the complicated procedure prescribed for non-accession.

Simla Conference. The failure of Cripps' Mission was followed by a period of lull till new Governor-General Lord Wavell broadcast his plan on June 14, 1945. Lord Wavell, the Governor-General, invited Indian leaders to Simla with a view 'to forming a new Executive Council

with more representatives of organised political opinion.' This conference was commonly known as Simla Conference. The proposed Executive Council was to consist of 13 members of which 5 must be Muslims. The proposals fell flat due to the arrogant demand of the Congress to represent Muslims and to nominate certain Congressite Muslims in filling up the quota of Muslim seats. This demand of the Congress was strongly objected by the Muslim League which declared that it alone would name the Muslim members of the Council. The Simla Conference failed due mainly to this controversy. Now the only way out of the impasse was to hold elections and ascertain the verdict of Muslims as to who were their spokesmen. The election was held early in 1946. The poll day was a victory day; the Muslim League captured all the Muslim seats to the Central and almost all Muslim seats to the Provincial legislatures. The election proved beyond doubt that Muslim Nation stood by Muslim League and the ideal of Pakistan

Cabinet Mission Plan. In March 1946, a Mission consisting of three British Cabinet members—Lord Pathick Lawrence, Mr. Alexander and Sir Stafford Cripps came to India 'to help her to attain her freedom as speedily as possible.' The Mission was known as Cabinet Mission. They along with the Viceroy tried their utmost to assist the main political parties—the Congress and the Muslim League, to reach an agreement on the structure of the future government of this sub-continent. When their attempt failed, they put forward a Plan to solve the Indian problem on May 16, 1946. This is known as Cabinet Mission Plan. The Plan consisted of Long Term and Short Term Schemes. These are as follows:—

The Long Term Scheme: There should be a Union of India embracing British India and Indian States.

This Union should deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications and should have powers to raise finance required for the subjects mentioned above.

(2) All other subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces. Native states should also retain all subjects other than the Union ones.

(3) The Union would have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from the representatives of British India and Indian States.

(4) The Provinces of British India would form the following three groups: (a) Group A (Hindu Majority Group) consisting of Madras, Bombay, U. P., C. P., Bihar and Orissa; (b) Group B (Muslim Majority Group) consisting of N. W. F. P., Sind, the Punjab; (c) Group C (Muslim Majority Group) consisting of Bengal and Assam. Each of the Groups would frame its own constitution and would be autonomous in all subjects save Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications which would be controlled by the centre.

(5) The representatives of all the Groups and such states as would join the Union would meet in a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution for the Union.

(6) Any Province could withdraw from any of the Groups after the first general election under the new constitution.

Short Term Scheme. The Cabinet Mission recommended the setting up of an Interim Government at the Centre to carry on the administration of India, while the constitution-making would be proceeding.

On the 16th June, the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, invited five members each from the League and the Congress and one each from the Sikhs, Indian Christians, Parsees and Scheduled Castes to form a coalition Government at the Centre. The Viceroy also expressed that "In the event of two major

parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in setting up of a coalition Government, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the Statement of May, 16". *

The Muslim League accepted the Plan—both its long term and short term schemes. The Congress, after prolonged discussion, decided on June 25, to reject the Interim Government Scheme but accepted the long term scheme. This acceptance was also under their own interpreation of the Plan. Compulsory Grouping was the very core of the Plan, but the Congress did not see any compulsory grouping in it. The Congress also interpreted the proposed constituent assembly as a sovereign body, whereas it was, in fact, not so. If the constituent assembly was a sovereign body, Muslim members being one fourth of its total members would have no effective voice in it.

When the Congress had rejected the Short Term Scheme the Viceroy ought to have gone ahead with his programme of forming the Interim Government with the Muslim League and others. But as he was "dying for the co-operation of the Congress," he, falling back on his own words within ten days of the June 16 Statement, shelved the Short Term Scheme on the 26th June. Under these deplorable circumstances, the All India Muslim League Council met at Bombay in the last week of July and withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan.

When the League withdrew its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Congress, on August 10, revised its verdict of June 25, and accepted the Short Term Plan, and began to demand for setting up the Interim Government. Lord Wavell who had a

* Vide Clause 8, Cabinet Mission Plan.

soft corner for the Congress consented to its demand and on August 24, the Viceroy announced the appointment of the members on the Interim Government on the basis of Pandit Nehru's recommendation. Thus Muslim League was by-passed. But it was not easy for Mr. Nehru and Lord Wavell to run the government smoothly in the teeth of opposition by the Musalmans. Situation had taken a critical turn. Lord Wavell realised the mistake and pursuaded the League to join the Government. Thus the Muslim League ultimately joined the Government.

But the Government did not function smoothly. The Congress and the Muslim League representatives in the Government (who formed an Executive Council and not a homogenous Cabinet) did not see eye to eye. There was deadlook in every step. It was a Government divided against itself. In the meantime, communal hatred between the Hindus and the Muslims reached its climax. In view of this, the British Government declared that before June 1948, they would quit India by transferring powers to appropriate authority or authorities. The declaration was made in February, 20, 1947. So it came to be known as *February Declaration.* But there was till no agreement between the Congress and the League. The League boycotted the Constituent Assembly.

The Plan of June 3, 1947, and Transfer of Powers: In the meantime and with the passing of days, intercommunal situation more and more deteriorated. Relation between Hindus and Sikhs on the one hand, and the Muslims on the other, reached such a stage that civil war seemed unaviodable.

In March 1947, Lord Mountbatten was appointed as new Viceroy in place of Lord Wavell. Seeing the complete cleavage between the two nations of the Hlndus and the Muslims and apprehending civil war

between them, he recommended for the partition of India by a Plan known as the 3rd June Plan. His Plan was accepted by the Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs. As a result of this acceptance, India was partitioned and Pakistan came into being.

The following are the salient points of the 3rd June plan:

(1) The existing Constituent Assembly would continue to complete its work but the constitution that it would frame would not be applicable to those parts of the country which would not be willing to accept it.

(2) Such areas that would be unwilling to participate in the existing Constituent Assembly (Muslim Majority Areas) would be entitled to convene a separate Constituent Assembly of their own.

(3) In case Muslim majority areas decided to establish their own Constituent Assembly, (a) each of the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab would meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the Province, and if any of the two parts decided by a simple majority vote in favour of the partition of the Province, division would accordingly take place and each of the two parts would join whichever of the Constituent Assemblies (Indian or Pakistani) it liked. (b) The Legislative Assembly of Sind would be entitled to take a similar decision on behalf of the Province. (c) In N. W. F. P., a referendum would be held on the basis of adult franchise, to grant the people an opportunity to choose to join Pakistan or India. (d) In Sylhet district of Assam also, which had on overwhelming Muslim population and was contiguous to Muslim majority region of East Bengal, a referendum would be held to enable the people to determine whether they would continue as a part of Assam or associate with the Pakistani province of East Bengal.

(4) A Boundary Commission would be appointed to demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Bengal, the Punjab and Sylhet district of Assam.

(5) A legislation (Indian Independence Bill) would be introduced in the British Parliament for the transfer of power to India.

The members of the Bengal and the Punjab Legislative Assemblies met in two sections each, and Hindus in Bengal and Hindus-Sikhs in the Punjab decided in favour of partition of their respective Provinces on the 20th and 23rd June respectively. The Sind Legislative Assembly decided to join the new Pakistan Constituent Assembly. The Shahi Jirga of Baluchistan follcwed suit. Referendum was held in Sylhet on July 6 and 7 and the District chosed to be incorporated in East Bengal by overwhelming majority voters. Referendum in N. W. F. P. was held on July 21 by which the Province expressed its will to join Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

To give effect to the Plan of June 3, and to trans fer power to two Dominions, the British Parliament in July 18, 1947, passed an Act known as "The Indian Independence Act, 1947."

CHAPTER XXI

PAKISTAN SINCE 1947

Pakistan and the U. N. O.

No nation now-a-days can live isolated. Nations are now in fact interdependent, particularly politically and economically. Peace and war are now largely international affairs.

From the day of the establishment of Pakistan, she has been endeavouring to establish good relations with nations of the world. 'Friendship to all, malice to none' is the cardinal principle of her foreign policy; and she has been following this principles in her relations with other nations persistently.

Pakistan from its very birth-day has become a faithful member of U. N. O. Pakistan believes in the ideals and principles for which U. N. O. has come into being. Within the short period of her membership to it, Pakistan has occupied a respectful position in the U. N. O. She has become a prominent member of the Economic and Social Council, and of various Regional Commissions and Specialized agencies such as the World Food and Agriculture Organisation, the World Health Organisation, Human Rights Commission, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, International Labour Organisation, etc. She has become a member of International Bank and Monetary Fund. She had secured from the Bank the recognition of the per value of her money against the opposition of the whole starling-block. In 1952, she secured a seat in Security Council; and in 1954, Sir Jafrullah Khan was elected as one of the judges of the International Court.

Pakistan has been consistently championing the cause of backward nations of Asia, particularly of the Muslim

countries of the world. She strongly supported the freedom struggle of Libya, Indonesia, Morocco and Arabs of Palestine irrespective of any attitude of the big powers. She ably advocated the freedom of Tunisia and Algeria in the Security Council.

Her Particpation in Defence Pacts :—

For security of the country, Pakistan has joined some security pacts. All these are in the nature of defence pacts. Pakistan has no aggressive intention and she regards no country her permanent enemy ; so she can not join an aggressive alliance. The two important regional pacts she has joined are SEATO and CENTO.

West Pakistan is a part the Middle East region and through East Pakistan, Pakistan belongs to South East Asia. As a part of Middle East, Pakistan has joined CENTO which is meant for the defence of the Middle East. It was originally known aa Bagdad Pact. Other members of this Pact were Iraq, Turkey, Iran and Britain. But in 1958, Iraq withdrew her membership from the Pact. So, the Pact has been renamed as the Central Treaty Organisation (Cento). The chief Articles of this pact indicate clearly its defensive nature. These are as follows : (i) The contracting parties would refrain from interference in each other's internal affairs. (ii) A permanent Council at ministrial level will be set up to function with the framework of the purpose of this pact. The Council would provide for a continuous consultation on political and economic questions as well as on military matters.

Pakistan, belonging to the region of the South East Asia through her Eastern zone has in 1954 joined the South East Asia Treaty Oraganisation (SEATO). It consists of eight member-states. Other members of

this organisation are the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Australia, Philipine, Newzealand and Thailand. The SEATO has threefold aims: (i) mutual defensive arrangements of the member states; (ii) guard against infiltration of the communists in the South East Asia; (iii) economic aid to the member-states of the region.

The SEATO has a Military Command which co-ordinates all phases of defence in the South East Asia.

The SEATO Communique of March 1956, re-affirmed Pakistan's western forntier along the Durand Line, thus ensured the integrity of the territory of Pakistan against any possible aggression by Afganistan. This is a great step toward the security of our territorial integrity.

Besides, Pakistan made an Alliance with Turkey in April 1954. It is also purely a defensive pact. The pact also aims at co operation in political, economic and cultural spheres. Both the countries, by this Alliance, agreed to consult international matters of mutual interests and to refrain from participating in any alliance or activities directed against the other. They will co-operate in the field of defence.

Problems of Pakistan :—

With her establishment on August 14, 1947, Pakistan faced tremendous problems—problems which even an well-established government would find extremely difficult to solve.

Establishment of government. The first problem Pakistan had to face was to choose a capital, form a government and establish a secretariat. Karachi was chosen as capital, Quaid-e-Azam took the office of Governor-General, Liaquat Ali was appointed as Prime Minister and a Cabinet of experienced persons was

selected. Arrangement was made to bring the officials who ofted for Pakistan from Delhi to Karachi. With them also were brought all government papers, files, documents, chairs, tables which Pakistan got as her share from the Government of Delhi. It was a gigantic task. To find out suitable places for officials were also difficult problems.

Refugee problem. The second problem Pakistan had to face from the first day of her creation was the problem of accommodating Muhazireens. The massacre of Muslims in East Panjab had started even a few days before the partition of the sub-continent. Widespread riots had also occured in other parts of India with their repercussion in Pakistan. Pakistan therefore had to receive and look after millions of Muslims who were forced to leave India. Even a part of government records had been destroyed while in transit from Delhi through Indian territory. Supreme efforts were made by Quaid-e-Azam and his cabinet to grapple with this situation.

Kashmir problem. Pakistan immediately faced another problem—the problem of Kashmir. The Dogra Army of the Maharaja of Kashmir began let loose terror among its Muslim population and made their life impossible in their own land.* So the oppressed Muslims revolted. Innumerable refugees from Kashmir crossed the border and told their tales of murder and looting. So, the tribesmen from the North-West Frontier came to help their brethren-in-faith of Kashmir. The Maharaja's forces were unable to defend his capital—Srinager, so an appeal was sent by him to New Delhi for military aid. India rushed military help. Consequently, armed conflict seemed inevitable between India and Pakistan. This crisis created bitterness between these two

* "An anti-Muslim movement in the state was initiated with all the appearance of a systematic persecuson."—said Lord Birdwood in his *Two Nations* and *Kashmir* p. 75.

dominions. Pakistan had to arrange accommodation, food and other helps for about 8 lakhs of Kashmiree refugees. Moreover, she had to send army along the border of Kashmir to guard her frontier, as Indian army in Kashmir poised a threat to the security and integrity of Pakistan. The Kashmir problem has not yet been solved.

Financial problems. At the time of partition, Pakistan had received only Rs. 20 crore as an opening balance; its share of the undivided India was to be determined later. Her share was later on fixed by mutual agreement at Rs. 75 crore. After deduction of the first instalment of 20 crore, the remaining Rs. 55 crore was to be paid to her by December. But India, for embarrassing Pakistan financially, withheld the payment of Pakistan's share. Pakistan's needs at this moment were very pressing. Bnt India wanted to force Pakistan in accepting the settlement of Kashmir problem according to the dictates of India. But Pakistan cheerfully accepted the risk of losing, for the time being at least, its balance of Rs. 55 crore, and refused to surrender to the dictates of India and to do anything which would imperil the future of Kashmiree Muslims.

Problems of East Pakistan. East Pakistan also faced serious problems. She had also to shift her officials, papers, documents from Calcutta to Dacca. Dacca was simply a district headquarter. So, it was very difficult for the Government of East Pakistan to find out the seat of its secretariat, to arrange accommodation of officials, and to keep the efficiency of administration by filling up the gap of Hindu experienced officials who ofted for West Bengal. East Pakistan also faced the problems of trade and commercial transactions with outside. All these problems had been solved by the patriotic and energetic officials of this part of the country.

Problem of constitution making. Another problem for Pakistan was to frame her constitution. Despite all the problems and difficulties which beset Pakistan from the very day of her creation, the nation expected the Constituent Assembly to frame her constitution. So long Quaid-e-Azam was alive, he and his Government really devoted all time and energy for solving immediate crises and dangers. But after his death the Constituent Assembly failed to do justice to its supreme task. During its long life of seven years, it could not produce a constitution. At last it was dissolved in October, 1954, and a Second Constituent Assembly was elected. The Second Constituent Assembly made a constitution. But it did not prove a success. So it was abrogated in October, 1958, and Martial Law was proclaimed. A new constitution was prepared and proclaimed and Martial Law was withdrawn in June 1962,